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Volume XI

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American Church History

A HISTORY

OF

THE METHODIST CHURCH, SOUTH
THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
THE CUMBERLAND PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
AND
THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, SOUTH

IN THE UNITED STATES

BY

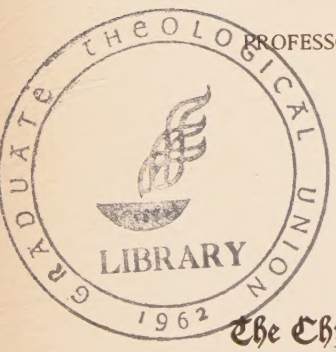
PROFESSOR GROSS ALEXANDER, D. D.

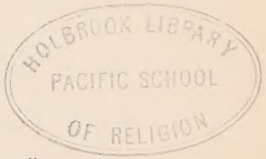
JAMES B. SCOULLER, D. D.

PROFESSOR R. V. FOSTER, D. D.

AND

PROFESSOR T. C. JOHNSON, D. D.





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HISTORY OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, SOUTH.

BY

GROSS ALEXANDER, D.D.,

Professor Greek and New Testament Exegesis, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.

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[1] Unless otherwise stated, these books are published in Nashville, Tenn., at the Publication House of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South; Barbee and Smith, present agents.

PREFACE.

In a history confined to brief limits, only a general outline of leading events can be given. The leading events in the history of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, took place, for the most part, in connection with the General Conferences. This fact has largely determined the plan and order of treatment in the present instance. It is true, also, that in the case of the Southern Methodist Church the action of the various General Conferences has been, throughout, representative, in a singular degree, of the thoughts, views, and status of the membership at large. But for these considerations the scheme of treatment according to General Conferences might seem arbitrary and artificial.

The author has drawn largely upon the original sources, and has introduced what may appear frequent and lengthy extracts from the original documents. This seemed better than to give his own abstract of their contents. The reproduction of essential portions of the original documents will give to the history a *reality* and *authority*, and to the reader a corresponding sense of satisfaction, which could not come from any summary, determined and colored, as that would be, by the author's *interpretation* of the originals. These are accessible to only a few. With the ex-

tracts given in the following pages, the general reader will be in a position to form his own judgments and to draw his own conclusions.

The task of the author was confessedly a difficult one. A minister, conversant with the history, humorously said to him:

> "Lo, on a narrow neck of land
> 'Twixt two unbounded seas you stand."

The difficulty of the task was rendered still greater by the limitations of time and space which were imposed. That mistakes have been made it is almost certain; that the work will meet the approval of all readers cannot be hoped. The writer has performed his task not as he would, but as, under the circumstances, he could. No one can be more sensible than he of the imperfections of the work. He bespeaks the charitable judgment of his readers. Those who occupy a different point of view will doubtless find much to criticise.

My thanks are due and are given to my colleagues, Dr. Charles Forster Smith, Prof. Collins Denny, Prof. O. E. Brown, and to Dr. E. E. Hoss, editor of the "Nashville Christian Advocate," for looking over proofs, and for many helpful suggestions. No one, however, is responsible for the views herein expressed but the author himself.

G. A.

THEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT, VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY,
NASHVILLE, TENN., January 24, 1894.

THE METHODISTS, SOUTH.

CHAPTER I.

PRELIMINARY HISTORY.

In 1766, Methodism, which had turned old England upside down, came hither also, to this new world. It planted itself, as if by a prophetic instinct, simultaneously in two places, one of them in the South, one of them in the North. From these two centers and throughout these two regions it extended itself in every direction, through New York, New England, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, through Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia. Nevertheless this Methodism was one,

> One army of the living God,

coalescing more and more under the plastic hands of Asbury and Rankin, and taking organic form in the conference of 1773 and those that followed. It was not Northern Methodism and Southern Methodism; it was Methodism,—Christianity in earnest, seeking and saving the lost. To the influence and the extension of this common Methodism the North contributed and the South contributed. If the North gave to Methodism such men as Nathan Bangs and Freeborn Garrettson and Joshua Soule, the South furnished her

quota of such as Philip Bruce and Jesse Lee and William McKendree. If increasing and incredible thousands were annually added to the rolls of the church and the number of the saved in New York and New England, answering thousands were added in Virginia and the Carolinas, in Georgia and Tennessee. In all that Methodism accomplished and in all that Methodism was, the North had an equal part with the South and the South had an equal part with the North—unless in point of numbers the North had somewhat the advantage. But while this was true, in another respect, the South had an advantage over the North, due, however, in no way, to the fault of the North. The Rev. Dr. Bristol, fraternal delegate of the Methodist Episcopal Church, said, at the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in 1890: "I am not ignorant, brethren, of the fact that the colored people of the South are indebted to your fathers for their Christianity and for their Methodism." If there was, then, a department of the great work to which the one section of the church had access and the other had not, except in a very limited way, it was the opportunity and privilege of giving the gospel to the African slave population of the United States. This the Methodists in the South did, for the most part; with what success is partially indicated in the fact that in 1844 there were about 125,000 of these sons of Ham enrolled as members of the church and sons of God—a larger number of practically heathen converts than all the missionary societies of America had gathered upon all the fields of the heathen world. So that while the portion of the church which operated in the North had the preponderance in numbers, the Southern portion, besides having gathered a membership of 350,000 whites, had, with infinite and unrecorded patience and toil, reached and Christianized a

practically heathen population of over 100,000 souls. On the whole, then, it was about an even stand, and neither portion could boast of any great superiority over the other. Neither had made the Methodist Episcopal Church without the other: neither was the Methodist Episcopal Church without the other.

There came a time, however, when, for reasons sufficient and irresistible, in their opinion, the members of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the South thought that, in view of the condition of affairs which had arisen, they could best conduct their work and operate their field under the jurisdiction of a separate General Conference. To this the representatives of all the Annual Conferences of the undivided Methodist Episcopal Church, in General Conference assembled, in the city of New York in 1844, agreed, by a majority little less than unanimous; and for this they made provision in what is known as the Plan of Separation, conditioned upon the necessity of a separate General Conference, that necessity to be determined by the Annual Conferences of the Southern States.

In accordance with this plan of separation, the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, consisting of all the Annual Conferences in the Southern and Southwestern States, was organized as a distinct ecclesiastical jurisdiction, in the month of May in the year 1845. As to the cause or causes of this event, we shall be better able to decide after tracing the history of the events that led to it. It is enough, at present, to say that it was in connection with the problems arising out of the existence of African slavery and its relations to church and state.

It is unnecessary to recite here the facts, that slavery existed at one time in all the original colonies of the American Union; that the business enterprise of New England, as well as that of old England, was active in

supplying African slaves for American markets; and that originally it was chiefly the accidents of climate and cotton and rice and sugar, and not the superior morality of the people of other sections, that determined the preponderance of numbers and the permanence of slavery in the South. "In the Eastern and Middle States the system of slave-labor was gradually abolished, being unprofitable," says a Northern and a Methodist historian of the United States.[1]

Says another: "Slavery was unprofitable in the Northern States, and in the course of time the opinions and sentiments of the best people were arrayed against it. If it had been profitable in the North, the people there, according to the infirmity of our nature, might possibly have remained unconvinced of its evils."

It is sufficient to say that at the time when our history begins, slavery had gravitated to the South, and was, for the most part, confined to the South; although, in the beginning, some of the Southern colonies had opposed and resisted the introduction of the abomination. The colonial legislature of Virginia, for example, in 1726 undertook to check the importation of slaves by imposing a heavy tax on the traffic; but the British Government repealed this law, and, as Madison afterward said, "constantly baffled the attempts of Virginia to put a stop to this infernal traffic, for the avowed reason that 'the slave-trade was very advantageous to Great Britain.'"[2]

The colony of Georgia, also, the year after it was chartered (1734), forbade by express law the introduction of slavery, and it was not until George Whitefield, co-founder

[1] Ridpath's "History of the United States," p. 487.

[2] Matlack's "Antislavery Struggle," p. 29.

NOTE.—From 1699 to 1772 *twenty-three* acts were passed to arrest or prohibit the further introduction of slaves, but all were disregarded by the King of Great Britain.—Minor's "Institutes," p. 164.

with Wesley of Methodism, went from Georgia to England and persuaded the trustees of the colony to allow it, that slavery was introduced (1751). He is reported to have said, "I should think myself highly favored if I could purchase a good number of slaves, in order to make their lives comfortable and lay a foundation for bringing up their posterity in the nurture and admonition of the Lord."

Twenty years afterward he died, leaving seventy-five slaves in connection with his Orphan House plantation in Georgia. For without repealing the law of 1734, the colony had from 1751 allowed slave-traders to sail to Savannah and sell their heathen victims to the highest bidder. A slight resistance was kept up by the Moravians, but even they finally yielded to the conviction that African slaves might be employed in a Christian spirit, and that their treatment in a Christian manner might prove their change of country to be a great benefit to them. This view was encouraged by a message from the Moravians of the fatherland, which declared, "If you take slaves in faith with the intention to conduct them to Christ, the action will not be a sin, but may prove a blessing."[1] Possibly this view of the Moravians of Germany was, in some measure, due to the influence of the words of the great Reformer, Martin Luther, who wrote in the sixteenth century, "He that says that slavery is opposed to Christianity is a liar." Sanctioned by such examples and defended with such plausible arguments, it is not surprising that, little by little, the people laid aside their scruples and finally adopted the system. In fact, it seemed equal to the liberation of slaves for kind masters to purchase them from heartless and cruel slave-traders.

When Methodism came upon the scene, about 1766, under Robert Strawbridge in Maryland and Philip Em-

[1] Matlack's "Antislavery Struggle," pp. 30, 31.

bury in New York, slavery was already established and in vogue from Massachusetts to South Carolina, but particularly in the South; and as Wesley had borne strong testimony against it in England, so did Asbury, Garrettson, and others in America. But it was not until the meeting of the conference at Baltimore in 1780 that conference action was taken on the subject. It will be necessary, at this point, to give a brief survey of the course of legislation on the subject of slaveholding, so as better to understand the situation at the critical period, in 1844. Up to 1780 there was no written rule on the practice of slaveholding. The following questions, propounded and recorded at that conference, will show that at that time slaves were held by Methodists, and even by Methodist preachers:

Question. Ought this conference to require those traveling preachers who hold slaves to give promises to set them free?

Answer. Yes.

Question. Do we pass our disapprobation on all our preachers who keep slaves and advise their freedom?

Answer. Yes.

At the famous Christmas Conference held in Lovely Lane Chapel in Baltimore in 1784, at and by which the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America was effected, a general rule, in addition to those prepared by Mr. Wesley for the societies in England in 1743, was adopted, prohibiting "the buying or selling the bodies and souls of men, women, or children with the intention of enslaving them."

Other special rules were also adopted at this conference, "designed to extirpate this abomination from among us." These rules were the most rigid that were ever enacted by the General Conference of the Methodist Church in America. They indicate the high-water mark of conference legislation against slavery. They were found, how-

ever, to be too rigid; and the Discipline of 1786 marks the beginning of a recessive movement. If, from the beginning, non-slaveholding had been made a rigid condition of entrance into the Methodist Church, that might have worked, and all the after trouble might have been avoided. But this was not done. Slaveholders had been admitted—when and where and how it may not now be possible to say—but the sensitive and excited tone of the legislation on the subject all through this period indicates that the church had considerable and increasing numbers of slaveholders. An attempt was made at the General Conference of 1800 to pass a resolution prohibiting thereafter the admission of a slaveholder. "Friday morning, May 16th, Brother Snethen moved that this General Conference do resolve that from this time no slaveholder shall be admitted into the Methodist Episcopal Church;" but it seemed now too late to adopt such a rule, for it was "negatived."[1] Not only so, but another rule was enacted, "That all slaveholders asking admission as members must be spoken to freely and faithfully by the preacher on the subject of slavery." These two actions revealed the vacillation of the church and the General Conference on the subject of slaveholding. They were hesitating over the question,

> . . . Shall we shut the door
> And keep it out? or shall we let it in
> And see if we can get it out again?

Moreover, the subject now began to be complicated with civil legislation. Already in the General Conference of 1800 we begin to meet with clauses that become very familiar in later legislation: "Whereas the laws in two or more of the United States pointedly prohibit the emancipation of slaves;" and again, "shall execute, if it be

[1] "Journal of the General Conference of 1800," p. 40.

practicable, a legal emancipation of such slave or slaves, agreeably to the laws of the State wherein they live." [1]

As they had failed to make non-slaveholding a condition of membership from the beginning; and as, when fully awakened afterward to the nature and meaning of slavery, they had even then definitely *refused* to introduce non-slaveholding as a condition of membership, but, on the contrary, made implicit provision for the continued admission of slaveholders on condition of a *talk* to the candidate by the preacher; and as conference legislation was becoming more difficult and unmanageable by reason of its embarrassing complications with State legislation—they found it necessary to abandon their untenable position, to make further concessions, and to put themselves in line with the laws of the slaveholding States and the crystallizing public opinion of the people in those States, or else they would have practically to abandon them. Hence there is a tone of increasing moderation in the legislation of the General Conference down to 1816, when the law known as the "Compromise Law" of the church on the subject of slavery was passed. The action of that conference is as follows:

> Your committee find that in the South and West the civil authorities render emancipation impracticable, and they are constrained to admit that to bring about such a change in the civil code as would favor the cause of liberty is not in the power of the General Conference. They beg leave to submit the following resolution:
>
> *Resolved*, That no slaveholder shall be eligible to any official station in our church where the laws of the State in which he lives will admit of emancipation and permit the liberated slave to enjoy freedom.[2]

After 1816 there was practically no change in the legislation of the General Conference on the subject of slavery until the session of 1836; but an event occurred at the

[1] "Journal of the General Conference of 1800," pp. 37, 44.
[2] "Journal of the General Conference of 1816," p. 170.

General Conference of 1828 which showed that the moderate and conciliatory view of the question had been accepted and was generally held. At the General Conference of 1824 that body instructed the bishops to choose and appoint a representative and send him to the British Conference at its session in 1826. At a meeting of the bishops held in Baltimore in April, 1826, Bishop McKendree and Bishop Soule had favored the appointment of Mr. Capers, of South Carolina, while Bishops George and Hedding gave their support to the great Dr. Wilbur Fisk. The ground of their objection to Mr. Capers was that he was a slaveholder. This difference of opinion led to a postponement of the matter till the General Conference of 1828, when the subject was formally brought up in the address of the bishops. The General Conference indorsed the preference of Bishops McKendree and Soule, and elected Mr. Capers over Dr. Fisk, notwithstanding the fact that he was a slaveholder. It may be interesting to add that Mr. Capers was received by the British Conference with cordiality and enthusiasm; and they

Resolved, 1. That the cordial thanks of this conference are due to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America for the appointment of their excellent representative, Mr. Capers, whose amiable manners, devout spirit, and acceptable ministry have greatly endeared him to the preachers now assembled, and have confirmed their feelings of respect and attachment toward their American brethren at large.

2. That the warmest thanks of the conference are hereby presented to Mr. Capers for the great ability, Christian spirit, and brotherly kindness with which he has discharged the duties of his honorable mission, and that their most fervent prayers will attend him on his return to his native country.[1]

The journal of the General Conference of 1836 records a remarkable action. It is as follows:

WHEREAS great excitement has prevailed in this country on the subject of modern abolitionism, etc.,

Resolved, by the delegates of the Annual Conferences in General Confer-

[1] "Life of Bishop Capers," p. 258.

ence assembled, That they are decidedly opposed to modern abolitionism, and wholly disclaim any right, wish; or intention to interfere in the civil and political relation between master and slave as it exists in the slaveholding States of this Union.[1]

One hundred and thirty-seven voted in favor of this resolution, and "none in the opposition."

The great excitement referred to in the preamble was an effect of the organization and operation of the New England Antislavery Society, begun in 1832, and the American Antislavery Society, organized in 1833. These societies took extreme positions and precipitated widespread agitation.

In 1835 the New England and New Hampshire conferences organized Antislavery Societies, and an "Appeal" was issued, signed by La Roy Sunderland and others, and addressed to these two conferences. In the same year appeared a "Counter-Appeal," written by D. D. Whedon and signed by Wilbur Fisk, Abel Stevens, Bishop Elijah Hedding, and others. The signers of this counter-appeal replied to the position taken in the appeal, that "no slaveholder is truly awakened, and that no slaveholder can rightly be permitted a place in the Christian Church," by saying:

That in the primitive church at Colosse, under the apostolic eye and with the apostolic sanction, the relation of master and slave was permitted to subsist; that there were already such in the church of Ephesus; that the New Testament (in Ephesians vi. 5–9 and elsewhere) enjoins obedience on the slave as an obligation due to a present, rightful authority; that 1 Timothy vi. 1, 2, presents an impregnable demonstration that slaveholding is not in all cases and invariably sinful; that we may not say that no slaveholder is truly awakened; and that it does not of itself form a ground of exclusion from the Christian Church.[2]

The counter-appeal maintained also that the Bible is opposed to slavery as a system, and disclaimed all pur-

[1] "Journal of the General Conference of 1836," pp. 446, 447.
[2] Matlack, pp. 87, 88.

pose of defending the system. What it opposed was the position that all slaveholding is sinful and therefore should be universally and immediately abandoned.

The address of the bishops at the General Conference of 1840 is a notable document. It presents a calm survey of the situation, takes broad views of the jurisdictional questions involved, and counsels moderation and justice in and toward all sections of the church. Among other things they say:

> They have no disposition to criminate their brethren in the South who are *unavoidably* connected with the institution of slavery, or to separate from them on that account. In all enactments of the church relating to slavery a due and respectful regard has been had to the laws of the States, never requiring emancipation in contravention of civil authority, or where the laws of the State would not allow the liberated slave to enjoy his freedom. The simple holding or owning of slaves, without regard to circumstances, has at no period of the existence of the church subjected the master to excommunication.[1]

In the reply of the bishops to the fraternal address of the British Conference, which contained references to the subject of slavery, they say:

> In some of our States slavery exists so universally and is so closely interwoven with their civil institutions, that both do the laws disallow of emancipation and the great body of the people (the source of laws with us) hold it to be treasonable to set forth anything by word or deed tending that way. Our church is extended through all the States, and as it would be wrong and unscriptural to enact a rule of discipline in opposition to the constitution and laws of the State on the subject, so also is it not equitable or Scriptural to confound the position of our ministers and people (so different as they are in different States) with respect to the moral question which slavery involves. Under the administration of the venerated Dr. Coke this plain distinction was once overlooked, and it was attempted to urge emancipation in *all* the States; but the attempt proved almost ruinous, and was soon abandoned by the doctor himself. Methodism has always been, except in this single instance, eminently loyal and promotive of good order, and so we desire it may ever continue to be both in Europe and America. We conclude the subject with the corroborating language of your noble missionary society, by the revered and lamented Richard Watson, in their instructions to missionaries published in the report of 1833, as follows:

[1] "Journal of the General Conference of 1840," pp. 135, 136.

"As in the colonies in which you are called to labor, a great proportion of the inhabitants are in a state of slavery, the committee most strongly call to your remembrance what was so fully stated to you when you were accepted as missionaries to the West Indies—that your only business is to promote the moral and religious improvement of the slaves to whom you may have access, without in the least degree, in public or private, interfering with their civil condition."

(Signed) R. R. ROBERTS,
JOSHUA SOULE,
ELIJAH HEDDING,
JAS. O. ANDREW,
BEVERLY WAUGH,
THOS. A. MORRIS.[1]

At this same General Conference of 1840 a memorial was presented from the official members of the Westmoreland Circuit, in Virginia, complaining that, while geographically they were subject to State laws under which emancipation could not take place, the Baltimore Conference, to whose ecclesiastical jurisdiction they belonged, refused to elect certain of their local preachers to orders or to admit them into the traveling connection, because they were slaveholders. The conclusion of the report on the subject adopted by the conference is as follows:

In conclusion, your committee would express the deliberate opinion that while the general rule on the subject of slavery relating to those States whose laws admit emancipation and permit the liberated slave to enjoy freedom, *should be firmly and constantly enforced*, the exception to the general rule, applying to those States where emancipation is not practicable, should be recognized *with equal firmness and impartiality*. Therefore,

Resolved, by the delegates of the several Annual Conferences in General Conference assembled, That, under the provisional exception of the general rule of the church on the subject of slavery, the simple holding of slaves or mere ownership of slave-property in States or Territories where the laws do not admit of emancipation and permit the liberated slaves to enjoy freedom, constitutes no legal barrier to the election or ordination of ministers to the various grades of office known in the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and cannot therefore be considered as operating any forfeiture of right in view of such election and ordination.

[1] "Journal of the General Conference of 1840," p. 155.

The action of the General Conference of 1840 marks the furthest limit of concession to the views and sentiments of the Southern section of the church. It was more than the abolition wing of the church could stand. They prepared to secede, and in 1842–43 they did secede; and at a convention held in Utica, N. Y., in May, 1843, they organized the Wesleyan Methodist Church of America, with non-slaveholding as a condition of membership. Within about a year and a half they had enrolled a total membership of fifteen thousand. This secession produced a reaction. A great awakening occurred in the church generally, resulting in some localities in Methodist conventions. One of these declared that "slaveholding is sin," and that "the Methodist Episcopal Church is responsible for slavery in its pale." Another one declared that "the only way to prevent an entire dissolution among us, as a church, is an entire separation from the South." [1]

Prior to 1843 no Annual Conference was allowed to say that all slaveholding was sin. Subsequently no form of expression was objected to by the presiding officer of an Annual Conference. Dr. Whedon, in the "Quarterly Review" for October, 1865, says: "The secession of the Wesleyans, as we believe, saved our church in 1844 from accepting a slaveholding bishop." It was the opinion of Bishop Thompson, expressed in 1866, that the Wesleyans by withdrawing from the church in 1843 constrained a development of antislavery activity in the church, which they could not have accomplished by remaining in it. This reaction was shown in the vigorous controversy which was at that period carried on in the Methodist journals of the time, North and South.

On the other hand, the legislation in the General Conferences of 1836 and 1840, the defeat of the abolition

[1] Matlack, p. 152.

party and their subsequent secession from the church, gave the supporters of the Southern view increasing confidence in *their* position. So that while the secession of the Wesleyans seemed, at the time, to afford "general relief," and did afford temporary relief, yet in fact and in the end it had the effect to reawaken the convictions of the one side and to strengthen those of the other. The crisis was approaching, and soon came. All the alterations of the rule, modifications of method, attempts at reconciliation, had brought the two parts of the church no nearer together. On the contrary, all their experiments and efforts, all the demands of the one side and all the concessions of the other, all the actions and reactions, showed that the question was utterly unmanageable, and that they were in reality wider apart than ever before. It seems amazing to us that the men of '44, on both sides, did not see that it was simply impossible to reconcile the differences and perpetuate the union, and that the best thing would have been to make a friendly division of the church and let each section work its own territory, pursue its own methods, and manage its own problems. An enforced and irritating union is incomparably worse than a friendly separation. So it appeared even to some of the apostles (compare Gal. ii. 9 and Acts xv. 39). An opportunity for a peaceable separation came in the General Conference of 1844.

CHAPTER II.

THE GENERAL CONFERENCE OF 1844.

WITHOUT the preliminary review given in the foregoing chapter, outlining the course of events preceding the General Conference of 1844, it would be difficult to understand the situation or to comprehend the action of that historic body. There were forebodings of evil in the hearts of both Northern and Southern delegates as they assembled in the city of New York, in the flowery month of May, to attend the ninth delegated General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and in the air were the whispered fears of an impending conflict. The General Conference was composed of the best men of all sections, men of really great abilities, profound convictions, deep piety, and devotion to the church. The radicals had gone off in 1843. The leaders of 1844 were, for the most part, conservatives. There were Soule and Hedding and Bangs and Olin and Morris and the Pecks and Durbin and Hamline and Porter and Collins and Thompson and Ames and Simpson and Cartwright and Scott; there were the Pierces and Capers and Paine and McFerrin and Green and Bascom and Kavanaugh and Winans and Smith and Andrew and Hamilton and Wightman and Early. No less than thirteen of the delegates to that memorable body afterward became bishops—six in the Northern Church and seven in the Southern.

Early in the session the appeal of F. A. Harding, a member of the Baltimore Conference, was taken up. He had married a lady who owned a family of slaves. At the

next session of the conference he was required by that body to free those slaves. Failing to comply, he was suspended till the next Annual Conference, or "until he gives assurance that he has taken the necessary steps to secure their freedom." It appeared in evidence that by the laws of Maryland the title and ownership inhered in his wife, and that a slave could not be emancipated and enjoy liberty in the State. It was claimed that his case was covered by the law, and appeal was made that the sentence of the Baltimore Conference be reversed. On the other hand, it was maintained, that no slaveholder had ever been a member of the Baltimore Conference; that the offending man knew this when he entered it, and had the fact before him when he married; that this usage of the conference had been insisted upon in the case of others; that, notwithstanding the stringency of the State law, slaves had often been manumitted and remained undisturbed in the State; and as for the title, it was assumed that he could persuade his wife to join him in the act of manumission.[1] When the vote was taken, the motion to reverse the decision of the Baltimore Conference was lost, fifty-six voting for and one hundred and seventeen against it. To the Southern members this seemed to be requiring compliance with the usage of the conference in violation of civil law, or, as they afterward expressed it, "enjoining a violation of civil law as a moral duty;" and this case might probably have precipitated the division of the church but for a graver case of similar character which was yet to be disposed of, namely, that of one of the bishops, who also had come into the possession of slaves by inheritance and marriage. The good men of both sides saw and felt what was coming, yet they tried to avert it—to avert the inevitable. On Tuesday, May

[1] McTyeire's "History of Methodism," p. 620.

14th, Dr. Capers, of South Carolina, and Dr. Olin, of Connecticut, offered jointly a resolution to the effect that:

In view of the distracting agitation which has so long prevailed on the subject of slavery and abolition, and especially in view of the difficulty under which we labor in the present General Conference, a committee of six be appointed to confer with the bishops as to the possibility of adopting some plan, and what, for the permanent pacification of the Church.[1]

Dr. Olin, though supporting this resolution, gave utterance to the conviction which has already been expressed in these pages, that further concession from either side was not to be expected, could not be asked; the differences were too deep to be healed; harmony and continued union were no longer possible. This great-souled son of New England and South Carolina, "speaking under the most powerful emotion and in a strain of tenderness that moved every member of the conference," said:

It appears to me that we stand committed on this question by our principles and views of policy, and that neither of us dare move a step from our position. I confess I turn away from the controversy with sorrow, and a deep feeling of apprehension that the difficulties that are upon us now threaten to be unmanageable. I will take it upon me to say freely that I do not see how Northern men can yield their ground, or Southern men give up theirs. I do indeed believe that if our affairs remain in their present position and this General Conference do not speak out clearly and distinctly on the subject, however unpalatable it may be, we cannot go home under this distracting question without a certainty of breaking up our conferences. I look to this measure with desire rather than with hope. With regard to our Southern brethren—and I hold that on this question, at least, I may speak with some confidence—if they concede what the Northern brethren wish, if they concede that holding slaves is incompatible with holding their ministry, they may as well go to the Rocky Mountains as to their own sunny plains. The people would not bear it. They feel shut up to their principles on this point. I believe there is not a man among them that would not make every sacrifice, and even die, if thereby he could heal this division. But if our difficulties are unmanageable, let our spirit be right. I see no way of escape.[2]

And Dr. Olin was right. After a day of fasting and prayer and four days of deliberation, the committee re-

[1] "Journal of the General Conference of 1844," p. 43.
[2] "Debates of the General Conference of 1844," p. 55.

ported on May 18th that, "after a calm and deliberate investigation of the subject submitted to their consideration, they are unable to agree upon any plan of compromise to reconcile the views of the Northern and Southern Conferences." [1]

On Monday, May 20th, the subject which was so much dreaded, but which would not and could not be let alone, was brought up, and a resolution was adopted instructing the committee on episcopacy to ascertain the facts in the case of Bishop Andrew and report the results of their investigation to the conference on the next day.

On Tuesday, May 21st, the committee presented their report, embodying a statement by Bishop Andrew himself concerning his connection with slavery: Several years before, an old lady had bequeathed to him a girl in trust, to be taken care of until she was nineteen years old. Then, with her consent, she was to be sent to Liberia; or, in case of her refusal to go, she was to be made as free as the laws of Georgia would permit. She refused to go to Liberia. He derived, however, no pecuniary advantage from her, and she was at liberty to go to a free State at her pleasure, but the laws of Georgia would not permit her emancipation there. In that case he was a slaveholder without his consent.

Secondly. The mother of Bishop Andrew's first wife left to her a negro boy. His wife died without a will, and by the laws of Georgia the boy became Bishop Andrew's property; but emancipation, as in the other case, was impracticable. However, the bishop declared he should be at liberty to leave the State whenever he was satisfied that the boy could either provide for himself or would be provided for by others.

[1] "Journal of the General Conference 1844," p. 54.

Thirdly. A few months previous, he had married a lady possessed of slaves. Shortly after his marriage, being unwilling to become their owner himself, he had secured them to her by a deed of trust. Consequently, he disclaimed any legal responsibility in the premises, but declared that his wife was unable to emancipate them in Georgia, even if she desired to do so.

It was true, then, that one of the bishops of the church had become a slaveholder, though certainly under very peculiar circumstances. Nevertheless, it was a tremendous matter. The personal character of Bishop James O. Andrew was above reproach and above suspicion. During all those terrible ten days when the searching gaze of the General Conference, of the whole church, and, indeed, of the nation, was focused upon him, no flaw was found in him; amid the feverish excitement of that high debate no railing accusation was brought against him.[1] One who reads his biography will find that his private life was one of exceptional character. His piety was genuine and deep and fervent, his humility was extraordinary, his self-sacrificing devotion to the gospel and the church was apostolic, his interest in the black people was zealous and ceaseless, his tenderness to his slaves was parental, his family life was even beautiful. I may be permitted to say that I began his biography with a prejudice against him; I finished it with the estimate and impression just given. The great Dr. Olin, also, who was for a time an inmate of his house and a member of his family, bears similar testimony to the character of Bishop Andrew. And yet Bishop Andrew was a slaveholder. This, however, was no more against him, *per se*, and apart from his official relation to the church, than the same fact was against Dr. Olin, who was himself a slaveholder during his residence in the South.

[1] See the "Debates of the General Conference of 1844."

But that Bishop Andrew should, in view of the history and the exciting agitation of the slavery question in his church, have allowed himself in any way to become connected with slaveholding *after* he was made a bishop in that church, seems not merely "an indiscretion," but a very grave and grievous error. His biographer, an intense Southerner, says: "No man of proper feeling will say that duty required him to marry the woman he did not prefer because a part of the church was opposed to a slaveholding bishop; but if he had reason to suppose that the results which did follow would have followed, the marriage should have been preceded by his resignation." If Bishop Andrew did not know the history of the slavery agitation in the church and country, and the attitude of the two sections well enough to have reason for fearing that his marrying a slave-owner would occasion serious trouble, then his ignorance, for a man in his position, was inexcusable. If he did know these things and was indifferent to them, his indifference was more inexcusable. In any case, his position in 1844 is not one to be envied.

While all this is true, it is equally true that the division of the church was inevitable. The South, and with it the Methodist Church in the South, was inextricably though, as the bishops in 1840 said, unavoidably involved in slavery; a large part of the North, and with it the larger part of the Methodist Church in the North, was becoming more and more committed to resistance; and in the action of 1836 and 1840 the Northern brethren had made the very last concession to the Southern, and a strong reaction had already set in. If Bishop Andrew's case had never come up, some other question or case like that of Mr. Harding, would have occasioned and precipitated the separation of the two sections of the church. And yet it cannot but be regarded as exceedingly unfort-

unate that the blunder of a good and great and honored man, occupying the highest position the church could bestow, should have become the occasion of that separation, and that his character and good name should be jeopardized and compromised, and with it that of his church, and thus they should be made to bear, in the eyes of the world, the blame of that separation which was probably as much due to one side as to the other, and still more to events and processes and influences which neither was responsible for and neither could control.

On Wednesday, May 22d, a resolution requesting Bishop Andrew to resign was offered by Alfred Griffith and John Davis, of the Baltimore Conference. If Bishop Andrew had been left to himself, his prompt resignation would have anticipated and superseded this resolution, or any other action of the conference in his case. At Baltimore, on his way to the conference, he had learned of the intense excitement caused by the report that one of the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church was a slaveholder. Thereupon, "he did resolve to resign, and so expressed himself, both in Baltimore and New York."[1]

On May 14th he wrote from New York to his daughter as follows:

> As to the General Conference, thus far it has done little else but quarrel. Some of them are in great trouble about having a slaveholding bishop, and I should greatly relieve them if I should resign. I would most joyfully resign, if I did not dread the influence on the Southern Church. I shall therefore wait patiently a while longer. The clouds are dark, but God is in the whirlwind and guides the storm.[2]

On May 16th he wrote to his wife:

> The entire delegation from the twelve slaveholding conferences has met, and, through a committee, have earnestly protested against my resignation under any circumstances, as inevitably destructive to the Southern Church;

[1] "Life of Bishop Andrew," p. 340.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 355.

and for the sake of that church I am resolved to maintain my position and await the issue. O my own dear sweet home! the sweetest spot on this green earth! how gladly would I spend the balance of my life in your society! But we must trust God and obey him.

JAMES O. ANDREW.

The action of the Southern delegates, referred to by Bishop Andrew, is as follows:

Whereas Bishop Andrew has signified to the delegates of the conferences in the slaveholding States a purpose to yield to the present distressing urgency of the brethren from the North and resign his office of bishop, and whereas, in a meeting of said delegates to consider this matter, after solemn prayer and much deliberation, it appears to us that his resignation would inflict an incurable wound on the whole South and inevitably lead to division in the church, therefore we do unanimously concur in requesting the bishop, by all his love for the unity of the church, which his resignation will certainly jeopardize, not to allow himself for any consideration to resign.

(Signed) L. PIERCE, *Chairman.*
L. M. LEE, *Secretary.*

NEW YORK, May 10, 1844.

So far as Bishop Andrew was personally concerned, if he had through ignorance or mistaken judgment become the occasion of trouble, he was willing and more than willing to get out of the way; but it was too late. Resignation was now out of the question and impossible. Nor would it have helped matters, if he had insisted on resigning; for, although it might have been a temporary pacification to the Northern men, it would have been interpreted by the South as enforced, and as a virtual surrender of their rights under the law and discipline of the church, and they would in all probability have seceded in a body.

But the resolution asking Bishop Andrew to resign was never put to vote. It was displaced, on the next day after its proposal, by a substitute. This, it was believed, would be less offensive to Bishop Andrew and the Southern delegates than the resolution asking for his resignation.

The substitute was offered by J. B. Finley and J. M. Trimble, of Ohio, as follows:

WHEREAS the discipline of our church forbids the doing anything calculated to destroy our itinerant general superintendency; and WHEREAS Bishop Andrew has become connected with slavery by marriage and otherwise, and this act having drawn after it circumstances which, in the estimation of the General Conference, will greatly embarrass the exercise of his office as an itinerant general superintendent, if not in some places entirely prevent it; therefore,

Resolved, That it is the sense of this General Conference that he desist from the exercise of this office so long as this impediment remains.

(Signed) J. B. FINLEY,
J. M. TRIMBLE.

It was upon this resolution that the great historic debate of 1844 took place. Mr. Finley, in supporting the resolution, said:

This resolution does not impeach the character of Bishop Andrew in any way; and as no brother here would deny the fact that he had become connected with slavery, the resolution is predicated on the principle that the act has brought after it circumstances which would impede and prevent his circulation as an itinerant general superintendent.

What do we request of Bishop Andrew in this resolution? We do not depose him as bishop; we only say it is the sense of this General Conference that he ought to cease to exercise the office till his embarrassment ceases. I do not wish the bishop to resign. I will permit no man on the floor to say that he has a warmer attachment to Bishop Andrew than I have. I love him as a Christian, as a minister, and as a bishop. I hope the General Conference will give him a little time, and perhaps he will by and by be able, consistently with his interests at the South, to free himself from this incubus of slavery, and we shall have him with us again as our beloved bishop.

The situation was singularly difficult. Perhaps no more difficult question ever in the whole history of the Christian Church embarrassed an ecclesiastical body. In short, it was unmanageable. To prevent widespread disaster on one side or the other there was but one solution, and that the General Conference of 1844 finally reached. The long and exhaustive debate which followed upon the resolution of Mr. Finley, developed radical differences of view between the Northern and Southern delegates concerning fundamental questions of church polity and law, in partic-

ular, concerning the constitutional powers of the General Conference, and the tenure of office of the bishops, or, more broadly, the relation of the episcopal office to the government of Episcopal Methodism. And the differences of view, then and there developed, continue till this day, for the most part, to distinguish the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, on these great questions.

But the long and able discussion of the situation had developed no solution that would be satisfactory to both sides. It had rather developed and multiplied difficulties in the way of any settlement of the question. On Thursday, May 30th, Bishop Hedding suggested that the conference have no afternoon session, in order to allow the bishops to consult together with the hope that they might be able to "present some plan of adjusting our present difficulties." The suggestion was received with general and great cordiality. Accordingly, on Friday morning, May 31st, the bishops presented the following communication:

To the General Conference of the M. E. Church:

REVEREND AND DEAR BRETHREN: The undersigned respectfully and affectionately offer to your calm consideration the result of their consultation this afternoon in regard to the unpleasant and very delicate question which has been so long and so earnestly debated before your body. To us it is fully apparent that a decision on this question, whether affirmatively or negatively, will most extensively disturb the peace and harmony of that widely extended brotherhood which has so effectively operated for good in the United States of America and elsewhere during the last sixty years, in the development of a system of active energy, of which union has always been a main element. At this painful crisis they have unanimously concurred in the propriety of recommending the postponement of further action in the case of Bishop Andrew until the ensuing General Conference. Until the cessation of the embarrassment or the expiration of the interval between the present and the ensuing General Conference, the undersigned believe that such a division of the work of the general superintendency might be made, without any infraction of a constitutional principle, as would fully employ Bishop Andrew in those sections of the church in which his presence and services would be welcome and cordial. If the course pursued on this occa-

sion by the undersigned be deemed a novel one, they persuade themselves that their justification, in the view of all candid and peace-loving persons, will be found in their strong desire to prevent disunion, and to promote harmony in the church.

Very respectfully and affectionately submitted,

JOSHUA SOULE,
ELIJAH HEDDING,
B. WAUGH,
T. A. MORRIS.

This suggestion of the bishops would seem a timely, reasonable, and pacific measure to adopt, but it was in vain. On Saturday, June 1st, Bishop Hedding in open conference withdrew his name from the paper. His reasons for so doing are given by the Rev. James Porter in an article in the "Quarterly Review" for April, 1871:

Abolitionists regarded this suggestion of the bishops as a most alarming measure. Accordingly, the delegates of the New England conferences were immediately called together, and, after due deliberation, unanimously adopted a paper declaring, in substance, that it was their solemn conviction that if Bishop Andrew should be left by the conference in the exercise of episcopal functions, it would break up most of our churches in New England; and that the only way that they could be holden together would be to secede in a body and invite Bishop Hedding to preside over them. The proposition was agreed in by some of our most distinguished laymen who were present, and a committee of two was appointed to communicate this action to Bishop Hedding. On June 1st the bishop was fully informed of the aforesaid action. He then publicly withdrew his name from the paper which he and the other bishops had signed.[1]

Thus it appears that if Bishop Andrew were left in the exercise of his episcopal functions, even though assigned to work in the South, the churches in New England would go to pieces; while, if he should be in any way molested, the church in the South would go to pieces. However, the address and recommendation of the bishops was, by vote of the conference, laid on the table. The substitute of Messrs. Finley and Trimble was then put, and was carried by a vote of one hundred and ten to sixty-eight.

[1] See Matlack, p. 172.

After this action, Dr. Lovick Pierce, of Georgia, gave notice that a protest would be presented by the minority on this vote at as early a day as practicable, to be entered on the journal of the conference.

The language of the resolution concerning Bishop Andrew was such that it might be construed as only advisory, and so possibly would have been construed; but that question was put to the test, and that possible construction of the resolution was effectually excluded by the action of the conference on the next day after the resolution was adopted. Messrs. Slicer and Sargent offered the following:

Resolved, That it is the sense of this General Conference that the vote of Saturday last in the case of Bishop Andrew be understood as advisory only, and not in the light of a judicial mandate; and that the final disposition of Bishop Andrew's case be postponed until the General Conference of 1848, in conformity with the suggestion of the bishops.[1]

But this resolution was laid on the table.

Events were now shaping themselves toward the end. It was not to be expected that things should remain in this condition; nor did they. Nothing, so far, was settled. Everything was exactly unsettled. The refusal of the majority to construe the Finley resolution as advisory left the minority to interpret it as mandatory, and this was to them even a graver action than the original resolution requesting Bishop Andrew to resign—in their judgment it was a virtual suspension of him, and that without due form of law and process of trial. Thus they knew it would be interpreted by the mass of the church-membership in the South, and they knew that wholesale disaffection and secession would follow. They felt in duty bound to express their convictions and misgivings, to enter some protest, and to make some effort to stand for and defend the church in the South, in order to prevent, if possible,

[1] "Journal of the General Conference of 1844," p. 85.

its demoralization and disintegration. And will any fair-minded man say that they did wrong and were to blame for so doing?

In their Protest they say:

We protest against the recent act of a majority of this General Conference as an attempt to establish a dangerous precedent subversive of the union and stability of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and especially as placing in jeopardy the general superintendency of the church by subjecting any bishop at any time to the will and caprice of a majority of the General Conference, not only without law, but in defiance of the restraints and provisions of law. We protest against the act because we recognize in this General Conference no right, power, or authority to suspend or depose a bishop of the church without formal presentation of a charge or charges alleging that the bishop to be dealt with has been guilty of the violation of some law, and also upon conviction of such charge after due form of trial. We protest against the act in question as a violation of the fundamental law usually known as the Compromise Law of the church on the subject of slavery—the only law which can be brought to bear upon the case of Bishop Andrew, and the assertion and maintenance of which, until it is constitutionally revoked, is guaranteed by the honor and good faith of this body as the representative assembly of the thirty-three Annual Conferences known as contracting parties in the premises. It is assumed, and the assumption acted upon, that expediency may have jurisdiction even in the presence of law, the law, too, being special, and covering the case in terms. Had Bishop Andrew been suspended according to law after due form of trial, we would have submitted without remonstrance, as the friends of law and order. The minority are aware that it is affirmed by some of the majority, though denied by others, that the resolution censuring and virtually suspending Bishop Andrew, as understood by the minority, is mere matter of advice or recommendation; but the nature of the resolution, by fair and necessary construction, is imperative and mandatory in form, and conveys the idea plainly that it is the judgment and will of the conference that Bishop Andrew shall cease to exercise the office of bishop until he shall cease to be the owner of slaves. A motion, too, to declare the resolution advisory was promptly rejected by the majority, and in view of all these facts and the entire proceedings in the case, we have been compelled to consider the resolution as a mandatory judgment to the effect that Bishop Andrew desist from the exercise of his episcopal functions. We can never consent, while we have a plain law obviously covering an assumed offense, that the offense shall be taken, under plea of conscience and principle, out of the hands of the law, and be re-subjected to the conflicting opinions and passions which originally led to a resort to law, as the only safe standard of judgment. We do not understand how conscience and principle can attach grave blame to action not disapproved by the law—express law, too, made

and provided in the case—without extending condemnation to the law itself and the body from which it proceeds. Impelled by conscience and principle to the illegal arrest of a bishop because he has incidentally, by bequest, inheritance, and marriage, come into the possession of slave property, in no instance intending to possess himself of such property, how long will conscience and principle leave other ministers, or even lay members, undisturbed who may happen to be in the same category with Bishop Andrew? Will assurances be given that the lawlessness of expediency, controlled, as in such cases, as it must be, by prejudice and passion, will extend no further, that there shall be no further curtailment of right as regards the Southern ministry? Yet what is the security of the South in the case?

As the Methodist Episcopal Church is now organized, and according to its organization since 1784, the episcopacy is a coördinate branch, the executive department proper of the government. A bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church is not a mere creature—is in no prominent sense an officer—of the General Conference. The General Conference, as such, cannot constitute a bishop. It is true, the Annual Conferences select the bishops of the church by the suffrage of their delegates in General Conference assembled, but the General Conference, in its capacity of a representative body or any other in which it exists, does not possess the power of ordination, without which a bishop cannot be constituted. Because bishops are in part constituted by the General Conference the power of removal does not follow. Episcopacy is an officially consecrated station under the protection of law. The power to appoint does not necessarily involve the power to remove; and when the appointing power is derivative, as in the case of the General Conference, the power of removal does not accrue at all, unless by consent of the coördinating branches of the government, expressed by law, made and provided in the case. When the legislature of a State appoints a judge or a senator in Congress, does the judge or senator thereby become the officer or creature of the legislature, or is he the officer or senatorial representative of the State, of which the legislature is the mere organ, and does the power of removal follow that of appointment? The answer is negative in both cases, and applies equally to the bishops of the Methodist Episcpoal Church, who are the officers and servants of the *church*, *chosen* by the General Conference *as its organ of action*, and no right of removal accrues except as they fail to accomplish the aims of the church in their appointment, and then only in accordance with the provisions of law. But when a bishop is suspended, or informed that it is the wish or will of the General Conference that he cease to perform the functions of bishop for doing what the law of the same body allows him to do, and, of course, without incurring the hazard of punishment or even blame, then the whole procedure becomes an outrage upon justice as well as law. Upon this theory of official tenure, the provisions of law and the faithful performance of duty afford no security. The bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church are slaves, and the General Conference their masters and holders. They are in office only at the discretion of

a majority of the General Conference, without the restraints or protection of law.[1]

On the afternoon of Wednesday, June 5th, the Southern delegates presented the following declaration, with the purpose of eliciting conference action in the premises:

The delegates of the conferences in the slaveholding States take leave to declare to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church that the continued agitation on the subject of slavery and abolition in a portion of the church, the frequent action on that subject in the General Conference, and especially the extrajudicial proceedings against Bishop Andrew, which resulted, on Saturday last, in the virtual suspension of him from his office as superintendent, must produce a state of things in the South which renders a continuance of the jurisdiction of that General Conference over these conferences inconsistent with the success of the ministry in the slaveholding States.[2]

On motion of Dr. Charles Elliott this "Declaration" was referred to a committee of nine, among whom were Robert Paine, Nathan Bangs, L. L. Hamline, William Winans, and James Porter. This committee was instructed by the conference:

To devise, if possible, a constitutional plan for a mutual and friendly division of the church, provided they cannot, in their judgment, devise a plan for an amicable adjustment of the difficulty now existing in the church on the subject of slavery.[3]

After three days of deliberation the committee presented their report, which is known as the historic "Plan of Separation." Its adoption was moved by Dr. Charles Elliott, on whose motion the committee was constituted. Their report is as follows:

The select committee of nine to consider and report on the declaration of the delegates from the conferences of the slaveholding States, beg leave to submit the following report:

WHEREAS a declaration has been presented to this General Conference, with the signatures of fifty-one delegates of the body, from thirteen Annual

1 "Debates of the General Conference of 1844," pp. 203–211.
2 "Journal of 1844," p. 109.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 111.

Conferences in the slaveholding States, representing that, for various reasons enumerated, the objects and purposes of the Christian ministry and church organization cannot be successfully accomplished by them under the jurisdiction of this General Conference as now constituted; and

WHEREAS, in the event of a separation, a contingency to which the declaration asks attention as not improbable, we esteem it the duty of this General Conference to meet the emergency with Christian kindness and the strictest equity; therefore,

Resolved, by the delegates of the several Annual Conferences in General Conference assembled,

1st. That should the delegates from the conferences in the slaveholding States find it necessary to unite in a distinct ecclesiastical connection, the following rule shall be observed with regard to the Northern boundary of such connection: All the societies, stations, and conferences adhering to the church in the South, by a vote of a majority of the members of said societies, stations, and conferences, shall remain under the unmolested pastoral care of the Southern Church; and the ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church shall in nowise attempt to organize churches or societies within the limits of the Church, South, nor shall they attempt to exercise any pastoral oversight therein; it being understood that the ministry of the South reciprocally observe the same rule in relation to stations, societies, and conferences adhering, by vote of a majority, to the Methodist Episcopal Church; provided also that this rule shall apply only to societies, stations, and conferences bordering on the line of division, and not to interior charges, which shall in all cases be left to the care of that church within whose territory they are situated.

2d. That ministers, local and traveling, of every grade and office in the Methodist Episcopal Church, may, as they prefer, remain in that church, or, without blame, attach themselves to the Church, South.

3d. *Resolved*, by the delegates of all the Annual Conferences in General Conference assembled, That we recommend to all the Annual Conferences, at their first approaching sessions, to authorize a change of the Sixth Restrictive Rule, so that the first clause shall read thus: "They shall not appropriate the produce of the Book Concern, nor of the Chartered Fund, to any purpose other than for the benefit of the traveling supernumerary, superannuated, and worn-out preachers, their wives, widows, and children, and to such other purposes as may be determined upon by the votes of two thirds of the members of the General Conference."

4th. That whenever the Annual Conferences, by a vote of three fourths of all their members voting on the third resolution, shall have concurred in the recommendation to alter the Sixth Restrictive Rule, the agents at New York and Cincinnati shall, and they are hereby authorized and directed to, deliver over to any authorized agent or appointee of the Church, South, should one be authorized, all notes and book accounts against the ministers,

church-members, or citizens within its boundaries, with authority to collect the same for the sole use of the Southern Church, and that said agents also convey to the aforesaid agent or appointee of the South all the real estate, and assign to him all the property, including presses, stock, and all right and interest connected with the printing establishments at Charleston, Richmond, and Nashville, which now belong to the Methodist Episcopal Church.

5th. That when the Annual Conferences shall have approved the aforesaid change in the Sixth Restrictive Rule, there shall be transferred to the above agent of the Southern Church so much of the capital and produce of the Methodist Book Concern as will, with notes, book accounts, presses, etc., mentioned in the last resolution, bear the same proportion to the whole property of said Concern that the traveling preachers in the Southern Church shall bear to all traveling ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church; the division to be made on the basis of the number of traveling preachers in the forthcoming minutes.

6th. That the above transfer shall be in the form of annual payments of $2500 per annum, and specifically in stock of the Book Concern, and in Southern notes and accounts due the establishment, and accruing after the first transfer mentioned above; and until all the payments are made the Southern Church shall share in all the net profits of the Book Concern, in the proportion that the amount due them, or in arrears, bears to all the property of the Concern.

7th. That —— be and they are hereby appointed commissioners to act in concert with the same number of commissioners appointed by the Southern organization (should one be formed) to estimate the amount which will fall due to the South by the preceding rule, and to have full powers to carry into effect the whole arrangements proposed with regard to the division of property, should the separation take place. And if by any means a vacancy occurs in this Board of Commissioners, the Book Committee at New York shall fill said vacancy.

8th. That whenever any agents of the Southern Church are clothed with legal authority or corporate power to act in the premises, the agents at New York are hereby authorized and directed to act in concert with said Southern agents, so as to give the provisions of these resolutions a legally binding force.

9th. That all the property of the Methodist Episcopal Church in meeting-houses, parsonages, colleges, schools, conference funds, cemeteries, and of every kind within the limits of the Southern organization, shall be forever free from any claim set up on the part of the Methodist Episcopal Church, so far as this resolution can be of force in the premises.

10th. That the church so formed in the South shall have a common property in all the copyrights in possession of the Book Concern at New York and Cincinnati, at the time of the settlement by the commissioners.

Resolved, That the bishops be respectfully requested to lay that part of this report requiring the action of the Annual Conferences before them as soon as possible, beginning with the New York Conference.

ROBERT PAINE, *Chairman*.

NEW YORK, June 7, 1844.[1]

Dr. Elliott moved the adoption of the report. He said:

He had had the opportunity of examining it, and had done so narrowly. He believed it would insure the purposes designed, and would be for the best interests of the church. It was his firm opinion that this was a proper course for them to pursue, in conformity with the Scriptures and the best analogies they could collect from the ancient churches, as well as from the best organized modern churches. All history did not furnish an example of so large a body of Christians remaining in such close and unbroken connection as the Methodist Episcopal Church. It was now found necessary to separate this large body, for it was becoming unwieldy. He referred to the churches at Antioch, at Alexandria, at Jerusalem, which, though they continued as one, were at least as distinct as the Methodist Episcopal Church would be if the suggested separation took place. The Church of England was one under the archbishops of Canterbury and York, connected and yet distinct. In his own mind it had been for years perfectly clear that to this conclusion they must eventually come. Were the question that now unhappily agitated the body dead and buried, there would be good reason for passing the resolutions contained in that report. As to their representation in the General Conference, one out of twenty was but a meager representation, and to go on as they had done it would soon be one out of thirty. And the body was now too large to do business advantageously. The measure contemplated was not schism, but separation for their mutual convenience and prosperity.[2]

The report of the committee embodying the provisional Plan of Separation was adopted by a majority ranging from 135 to 153 on the several resolutions, against 18 to 13 voting in the negative. This was done on June 8th, and on the second day afterward this epoch-making conference, the last General Conference of the United Methodism of America, adjourned.

The Plan of Separation as conceived and agreed on was honorable to both parties. It was a healing measure, and

[1] "Journal of Conference of 1844," p. 135.
[2] "Debates of General Conference of 1844," p. 219.

a fitting conclusion to the fifteenth General Conference of United Episcopal Methodism, and the last.

From this history it will, we think, be evident to the candid reader that the Southern delegates in 1844 did not contend for slavery. They contended for a separate ecclesiastical organization, in order that, secure from the continual agitation of the slavery question, they might, without interfering with established civil institutions and relations, have the opportunity and privilege of giving the gospel to the slave-owners of the South and their slaves; for whatever excluded them from the former excluded them also from the latter. "It was not for slavery, but for the privilege of saving the slave, that our fathers chiefly contended," said Bishop Galloway, the fraternal delegate to the British Conference in 1892. They could not change the situation. They had to take it as they found it, and deal with it as best they could. They honestly thought that they could best succeed in reaching both slave-owners and slaves by giving them the gospel as they were, without in the least interfering with their civil relations, firmly established, as these were, through long years of usage, sanctioned by the very Constitution of the United States, and guarded by the most rigid State laws. Nay, they believed that they could reach them *in no other way;* but that if they undertook to abolish these relations, or seriously to interfere with them, they would effectually shut themselves out from all access to the slaves or their owners. May they not have refrained from such revolutionary efforts in the spirit of St. Paul, who, we are told, made no interference with slavery in his day and time, because he knew it would array society and the world against his gospel and doom it to defeat and failure? At least, so thought and said the Southern delegates at the General Conference of 1844. *They* saw and

felt and acknowledged the evil and curse of slavery. For example, Dr. Smith, of Virginia, said in the debate on the Harding case:

I say slavery is an evil, because I feel it to be an evil. And who cannot say the same that has trod the soil of the South? It is an evil. The Discipline declares the truth when it says, "We are as much as ever convinced of the great evil of slavery." Yes, we say that slavery is an evil, and that Southern people know and feel it to be an evil. Who knows how the shoe pinches but he who wears it? And who more than we who have been compelled to submit to it to the present moment? So sorely did we in Virginia feel the evils of slavery and groan under them, that, from the debates in 1831 in the Virginia Legislature and the popular sentiment, expressed by pulpit and press, no doubt was entertained that the State was about to adopt immediate measures for its gradual extirpation.[1]

These sentiments of Dr. Smith were heartily responded to by the delegates from the South.[2]

He went on to say:

On the other hand, I should say that while the Discipline deprecates the evil of slavery, it requires the members of the church within the slave States to conform their action to the laws of those States in which they live.

Dr. McFerrin, another of the Southern leaders, said:

I never bought or sold a slave, but those which I had were family servants. I had treated them humanely, and never intended to wrong them in any sense. In my heart I believed slavery to be an evil—more of an evil to the master than to the slave—but under the circumstances, and in view of what the Bible said, I did not believe it to be a sin *per se*.[3]

Thus, then, it was not for slavery that they contended, but for security from molestation in preaching the gospel to slave-owners and to slaves without running the risk of being denied access to both classes by interfering with existing institutions and civil relations. At least, so it appears from the proceedings and debates of 1844.

But it was not for this alone that they contended.

[1] "Debates of 1844," pp. 26, 27.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 44.
[3] "Life of McFerrin," p. 269.

They contended also for the authority of law, for the sanctity of the Constitution, and for the sacredness of the rights of ministers under the Constitution and the law, as the extracts previously quoted from the Protest show. (See page 27 ff.) And yet this is not intended on the part of this writer to imply any criticism of the action of the majority in the case of Bishop Andrew. In the first place, he committed an error in becoming connected with slavery. Not that he offended against the written law, but against the unwritten, higher law of charity, which seeketh not her own, which surrenders her rights rather than be a stumbling-block in the way of others. But, having become entangled with slavery, it became *absolutely necessary* for the General Conference to take some action, and some immediate action in his case, in order to save large portions of the church in the North from disaffection and secession, and perhaps ruin. In the second place, they believed that they were acting in accordance with the Constitution, as their speeches during the debate show. What *could* the General Conference of 1844 do, in view of the circumstances, except what it did? It seems to this writer that they did even more wisely than they knew, in doing what they did. Only if, as good Bishop Morris afterward wrote, "the plan" which the General Conference of 1844 devised and adopted, "had been carried out in good faith and Christian feeling on both sides," all the desirable ends of the division into two jurisdictions would have been met, and "it would scarcely have been felt any more than the division of an Annual Conference."

As to the power of the General Conference to authorize or provide for the separation of a part of the church, there was a distinct precedent in the action of the General Conference of 1820.

The operations of the Methodist Episcopal Church and

of the missionaries of the British Wesleyan Conference extended over the same territory in the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada. Hence there were frequent collisions and much friction. In 1820, on account of many and urgent memorials received from the Canadian societies, the General Conference empowered the bishops "to negotiate with the British Conference respecting Lower Canada in the way and manner they shall see fit," and, if possible, to send a delegate to England for the purpose. The Rev. John Emory was appointed, and in their letter of official instructions to him the bishops say:

> We are of opinion that the most effectual means to prevent collisions in future will be to establish a specific line by which our field of labor shall be bounded on one side and the British missionaries on the other. With this view you are at liberty to stipulate that our preachers shall confine their labors in Canada to the Upper Province, provided the British missionaries will confine theirs to the Lower.[1]

Mr. Emory succeeded in effecting this arrangement with the British Conference, and accordingly Bishop McKendree addressed to the private and official members in Lower Canada a circular letter, dated October 16, 1820:

> It has been agreed that our British brethren shall supply the Lower Provinces and our preachers the Upper. It becomes our duty, therefore, to inform you of this agreement, and to advise you, in the most affectionate and earnest manner, to put yourselves and your chapels under the care of our British brethren, as their societies and chapels in the Upper Province will be put under our care. . . . This communication, we confess, is not made without pain. But necessity is laid upon us. It is a peace-offering. Forgive, therefore, our seeming to give you up.

Accordingly, a committee of three preachers from each connection met at Montreal February 15, 1821, and fixed the time and manner for delivering up the several charges which were to be relinquished on both sides.

Thus the General Conference empowered the bishops

[1] Dr. Emory's "Life of Bishop Emory," pp. 93, 94.

and the bishops empowered Mr. Emory, and Mr. Emory contracted with the British Conference to surrender to that ecclesiastical jurisdiction a portion of the membership of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the contract was faithfully executed. (See Dr. Tigert's "Constitutional History of American Methodism.")

This was arranged for and consummated long before the theory of a "compact" between the Methodists of Canada and the Methodist Episcopal Church was invented. That theory was hit upon to obviate a difficulty which occurred to the delegates of the General Conference of 1828; but in 1820 the difficulty had not been thought of.

It did not occur to Bishop McKendree that there was any violation or disregard of the constitution in the action of the General Conference of 1820 in setting off the charges of Lower Canada and surrendering them to another and a foreign ecclesiastical jurisdiction, though it was done without their request, without their consent, without even consulting them. Indeed Bishop McKendree was the chief agent in effecting the arrangement. And no man in the history of American Methodism understood the constitution of the church and the powers of the General Conference better than William McKendree, or was more conscientiously and consistently jealous than he of any usurpation of the one or infraction of the other.

CHAPTER III.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, SOUTH.

THE General Conference had made provision for the separation of the Southern conferences and their erection into a distinct ecclesiastical connection, on condition that those conferences should find a severance of their jurisdictional connection with the Methodist Episcopal Church necessary. In order to ascertain the view of the Southern conferences on the necessity of separation, the delegates of those conferences thought it advisable to meet together before leaving New York, and hold a consultation. In order to promote uniformity of action in the premises they submitted to the conferences a plan for procuring the judgment of the church in the slaveholding States as to the necessity of organizing a Southern division of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States, and the best way of effecting such an organization should it be deemed necessary. That plan was to hold a convention at Louisville, Ky., beginning May 1, 1845, and composed of delegates from the Southern conferences in the ratio of one for every eleven members. These conferences were to instruct their delegates to the proposed convention on the points on which action was contemplated, conforming their instructions, as far as possible, to the opinions and wishes of the membership within their several conference bounds. They also issued an address to the ministers and members of the Southern conferences

"conveying authentic information of the provisional Plan of Separation, under which relief in a regular way could be obtained from the Northern jurisdiction, if they judged it necessary." They counseled moderation and forbearance. They declared that the separation proposed was not schism, as Dr. Elliott also had said in his speech advocating the plan. They declared that they "have clung to the cherished unity of the church with a firmness of purpose and a force of feeling which nothing but invincible necessity could subdue. If, however, nominal unity must coexist with unceasing strife and alienated feeling, what is likely to be gained by its perpetuation? Disposed, however, to defer to the judgment of the church, we leave this subject with you. The plan does not decide that division shall take place, but simply provides that it may, if it be found necessary. Of this necessity you are to be the judges after a careful survey and comparison of all the reasons for and against it. Our first and most direct object has been to bring it fully before you, and, giving you an opportunity to judge and determine for yourselves, await your decision."

The Kentucky Conference was the first in the Southern division of the church to meet after the adjournment of the General Conference. It convened on September 11, 1844, and adopted, among others, the following resolutions, with but one dissenting voice:

Resolved, 1. That it is the deliberate judgment of this conference that the action of the late General Conference, in the case of Bishop Andrew and of the Rev. F. A. Harding, is not sustained by the Discipline of the church, and that we consider those proceedings as constituting a highly dangerous precedent.

2. That we deeply regret the prospect of division growing out of those proceedings.

3. That we approve the holding a convention of delegates in Louisville next May agreeably to the recommendation of the Southern and Southwestern delegates in the late General Conference.

4. That unless we can be assured that the rights of our ministry and membership can be effectually secured according to the Discipline against future aggressions, and reparation be made for past injury, we shall deem the contemplated division unavoidable.

5. That we approve the course of our delegates in the late General Conference, and tender them our thanks for their faithful and independent discharge of duty in a trying crisis.

6. That we respectfully invite the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church who may feel disposed to do so, to be in attendance at the contemplated convention.

7. That we appoint Friday preceding the day for the meeting of the convention, as a day of fasting and prayer for the blessing of Almighty God on the said convention.

Resolutions to the same effect, and covering the same ground, were passed at the sessions of the Missouri, Holston, Tennessee, Memphis, Mississippi, Arkansas, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Texas, Alabama, and Indian Mission conferences. The resolutions passed by some of these conferences concerning the unconditional necessity of separation were much stronger than those of the Kentucky Conference, but in other respects they were very similar. Great unanimity prevailed in respect to all the points touched upon in the foregoing resolutions. Indeed, it has been said by one who took part in those proceedings, and who with wide opportunities made a study of this whole history, that "those who will take the trouble to read the utterances of these conferences will find that the history of the world does not offer a parallel to the unanimity of sentiment, thought, and purpose which they exhibited on a subject of such momentous importance. Their course was taken reluctantly, sadly, but firmly, and for the glory of God."[1]

The meeting of the delegates from the Southern conferences in convention at Louisville, in May, 1845, was looked to with great and general interest. It is said that

[1] Myers' "Disruption of the Methodist Episcopal Church."

hundreds of ministers and members attended the convention to witness the progress and result of its deliberations, and the entire church, North and South, awaited with painful solicitude the final issue.

There were between ninety-five and a hundred delegates in attendance from the conferences enumerated above. Bishops Soule, Andrew, and Morris were present, and were requested by the convention to preside in turn, but Bishop Morris declined. Dr. Lovick Pierce was elected temporary president, and opened the convention with a Scripture lesson and hymn, and a "suitable and impressive prayer to the throne of grace." Thomas O. Summers was elected secretary, and Thomas N. Ralston assistant. On the morning of the second day of the convention a notable address was delivered by the venerable Bishop Soule. It will be remembered that he was the Senior Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America. He was from the extreme North. He had been born and reared in Maine, and was, at the time referred to, a citizen of Ohio. It was he who, at the age of twenty-seven, had drafted the constitution of the church. It was he who, on a former occasion, when the constitution was in peril, more than any other man had saved it; and it was he who, though a Northern man and never a pro-slavery man, undertook the defense of the constitution in the great controversy that agitated the General Conference of 1844. He said to the convention:

I rise on the present occasion under the influence of feelings more solemn and impressive than I recollect ever to have experienced before.

I am deeply impressed with a conviction of the important results of your deliberations and decisions in relation to that numerous body of Christians and Christian ministers you here represent and to the country at large. When it is recollected that it is not only for yourselves and the present ministry and membership of the conferences you represent, that you are assembled here, but that millions of the present race and generations yet unborn

may be affected in their most essential interests by the result of your deliberations, it will occur to you how important it is that you should do all things as in the immediate presence of God. The opinion which I formed at the close of the late General Conference, that the proceedings of that body would result in a division of the church, was not induced by the impulse of excitement, but was predicated of principles and facts after the most deliberate and mature consideration. And however deeply I have regretted such result, yet, believing it to be inevitable, my efforts have been made, not to prevent it, but rather that it might be attended with the least injury and the greatest amount of good which the case would admit. I was not alone in this opinion. A number of aged and influential ministers entertained the same views, and, indeed, it is not easy to see how any one acquainted with the facts in the case and the relative position of the North and South could arrive at any other conclusion. Nothing has transpired since the close of the General Conference to change the opinion I then formed, but subsequent events have rather confirmed it. In the Southern conferences which I have attended, I do not recollect that there has been a dissenting voice with respect to the necessity of a separate organization, and although their official acts in deciding the important question have been marked with that clearness and decision which should afford satisfactory evidence that they acted under a solemn conviction of duty to Christ and to the people of their charge, they have been equally distinguished by moderation and candor. For myself, I stand upon the basis of Methodism as contained in the Discipline, and from it I intend never to be removed.

On Monday, May 5th, the following resolution was offered by Dr. Wm. A. Smith and Dr. Lovick Pierce:

Resolved, by the delegates of the several Annual Conferences in the Southern and Southwestern States in General Convention assembled:

That we cannot sanction the action of the late General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church on the subject of slavery by remaining under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of that body without deep and lasting injury to the interests of the church and the country; we therefore hereby instruct the committee on organization that, if upon a careful examination of the whole subject they find that there is no reasonable ground to hope that the Northern majority will recede from their position and give some safe guarantee for the future security of our civil and ecclesiastical rights, they report in favor of a separation from the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the said General Conference.

After a lengthened discussion of this resolution, extending through nine days, it was, on May 14th, adopted, with one dissenting vote.

On Saturday, May 17th, the report of the committee on organization was taken up and adopted, as follows:

Be it resolved, by the delegates of the several Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the slaveholding States, in General Convention assembled, that it is right, expedient, and necessary to erect the Annual Conferences represented in this convention into a distinct ecclesiastical connection, separate from the jurisdiction of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church as at present constituted; and accordingly, we, the delegates of said Annual Conferences, acting under the provisional Plan of Separation adopted by the General Conference of 1844, do solemnly declare the jurisdiction hitherto exercised over said Annual Conferences by the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, entirely dissolved; and that said Annual Conferences shall be and they hereby are constituted a separate ecclesiastical connection under the provisional Plan of Separation aforesaid and based upon the Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church, comprehending the doctrines and entire moral, ecclesiastical, and economical rules and regulations of said Discipline, except, only, in so far as verbal alterations may be necessary to a distinct organization, and to be known by the style and title of The Methodist Episcopal Church, South.

This resolution was adopted by a vote of ninety-four yeas against three nays. They appointed the first General Conference to meet on the first day of May, 1846, in the city of Petersburg, Va., and thenceforward in the month of April or May, once in four years, successively.

After adopting various other measures appropriate to their circumstances, on May 19th the convention "*Resolved*, That we devoutly acknowledge the superintending providence of God over this convention, and rejoice in the harmony which has prevailed in all its deliberations and decisions," and adjourned; and the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, was completed.

In the interval before the General Conference of 1846 the various Annual Conferences, with great unanimity, approved the acts of the Louisville Convention.

CHAPTER IV.

THE FIRST GENERAL CONFERENCE OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, SOUTH.

THE first General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, assembled by appointment of the Louisville Convention in the Union Street Church in Petersburg, Va., on the first day of May, 1846. There were eighty-seven delegates, from sixteen Annual Conferences. These men came together in this first general representative assembly of their church with solemn impressions of the gravity of their responsibility, on the one hand, and on the other, with a steady confidence in God and the rightness of their course, and high hopes for the future. Among them were such men as the venerable Senior Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America, Joshua Soule, the venerable Lovick Pierce, John B. McFerrin, H. B. Bascom, William Winans, Robert Paine, A. L. P. Green, Jonathan Stamper, John Early, William Capers, George F. Pierce, William M. Wightman, Jefferson Hamilton, Thomas O. Summers, H. H. Kavanaugh, Fountain E. Pitts. Of these, seven afterward became bishops in the church, and every one of them honored the high position.

The conference was called to order by Dr. Winans, of Mississippi, and John Early was elected temporary chairman; for, though Bishop Soule was present, he had not yet formally declared his adherence to the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. This he did, however, on the

second day of the conference, in the following formal communication:

PETERSBURG, VA., May 2, 1846.

REVEREND AND DEAR BRETHREN: I consider your body as now organized as the consummation of the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in conformity to the Plan of Separation adopted by the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1844. The organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, being thus completed in the organization of the General Conference with a constitutional president, the time has arrived when it is proper for me to announce my position. Sustaining no relation to one Annual Conference which I did not sustain to every other, and considering the General Conference as the proper judicatory to which my communication should be made, I have declined making this announcement until the present time; and now, acting with strict regard to the Plan of Separation and under a solemn conviction of duty, I formally declare my adherence to the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. And if the conference receive me in my present relation to the church, I am ready to serve them according to the best of my ability. In conclusion, I indulge the joyful assurance that, although separated from our Northern brethren by a distinct conference jurisdiction, we shall never cease to treat them as brethren beloved, and cultivate those principles and affections which constitute the essential unity of the Church of Christ.

JOSHUA SOULE.

From this time, Bishop Soule and Bishop Andrew, who arrived after the opening, presided in turn over the daily sessions of the conference. The organization of the body was effected, the usual committees were appointed, and soon they were launched upon the current of routine General Conference proceedings. These men were not novices in the conduct of a Methodist General Conference. They were old hands at the business, and among them were some of the ablest and most venerable men of the Methodism of America. At this very first session of the General Conference of the church, her representatives, while recognizing that they had a special call to a peculiar and difficult mission work in their own territory, did not fail to cast their glance abroad and to acknowledge their obligation to give the gospel, as far as in them lay, to

unevangelized peoples beyond the pale of Christendom. They strove to follow in the succession of him who said, "The field is the world," of him who declared himself "debtor to Greeks and to barbarians," and of him who said, "The world is my parish." Accordingly, early in the session they took measures for enterprising a mission to China. For the furtherance of this and similar objects, they constituted and organized a permanent Board of Missions.

Educated from of old to know the need and value of church literature, and wishing from the very start to secure independent facilities of their own for furnishing it, they provided for a Book Concern. However, this arrangement gave place to another, better suited to the condition of the church at the time, and this was the appointment of an agent to provide for a supply of books for the church by contracting for such books where they could be obtained on the best terms. He was to cause these books to be kept on hand at Louisville, Richmond, and Charleston, subject to the orders of the itinerant preachers of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. John Early was elected agent. They projected three weekly religious papers, to be published, one in Louisville, one in Richmond, and one in Charleston. They provided for the publication of a Sunday-school journal, and established a "Quarterly Review," of which H. B. Bascom was elected editor. John B. McFerrin was elected editor of the "Nashville Christian Advocate," W. M. Wightman of the "Southern Christian Advocate" at Charleston, with Thomas O. Summers as assistant, and LeRoy M. Lee was elected editor of the "Richmond Christian Advocate."

The committee on episcopacy recommended the election of two additional bishops, and the conference concurred. Bishop Soule and Dr. Lovick Pierce led the conference in

prayer for the divine direction in the selection of their superintendents; and it is not too much to say that the event justified their confidence in the divine guidance. On the second ballot William Capers, of South Carolina, and Robert Paine, of Tennessee, were elected bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. The former of these, it will be remembered, was elected by the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1828, as their representative to the British Conference, and had discharged his delicate duties with such acceptability and grace as to elicit from that distinguished body resolutions of thanks to the church for sending him, and to himself "for the great ability, Christian spirit, and brotherly kindness with which he had discharged the duties of his honorable mission." In 1840 he had been elected one of the general missionary secretaries of the Methodist Episcopal Church. But a distinction, higher and nobler than any of these, was the fact that in 1829, after having served long and faithfully as a preacher to and pastor of thousands of slaves in connection with his white congregations, he established missions to the plantation slaves, and was himself appointed superintendent of these missions. At the time of his death there were, as the product of this movement, inaugurated by him, twenty-six mission stations in South Carolina *alone*, on which were employed thirty-two preachers, and the number of church-members at these stations was 11,546.

Dr. Robert Paine was, at the General Conference of 1844, chairman of the general committee on episcopacy, and chairman, as well, of the famous committee of nine who drew up the Plan of Separation. He had been at the time of his election as bishop for sixteen years and still was president of LaGrange College in Alabama. These two tried and honored men, then, were the first choice of

the Southern Church for the high and responsible office of general superintendent. They were consecrated at noon on Thursday, May 14th, in the Washington Street Church. It will not be amiss to quote a short extract from a letter written by Bishop Capers to his wife on that day:

> To-day I feel that we are all on the altar together. And oh! have I not felt that the altar sanctifieth the gift? I have only to cast all my care on God, all my multiform unworthiness on his divine goodness and condescension in Christ, and go on. I have so reverenced the office and work of a bishop, and the bishops themselves, that that very thing embarrasses me. I cannot feel myself a bishop, but, thank God! I feel what is better—an abiding sense of being accepted of him in an humble and sincere devotion of myself without stint to his service.

The General Conference of 1846 made no essential change in the original Discipline. In fact, they declare that the changes made by them were fewer in number and less important than those of any General Conference since 1792. On the subject of slavery the section and rule were left unchanged; only a paragraph was added explaining that the section was understood by the M. E. Church, South, in the sense of the declarations made by the General Conferences of 1836 and 1840. The interests of the slave population received special attention. The report of the committee on missions adopted by the conference has these words: "The duty of giving the gospel to the slave population is binding on all according to their ability, and it is binding on all, as they are severally able, with the same force of indispensable obligation." This report occupies three pages of the conference journal.[1]

Three new conferences, in addition to the original sixteen, were constituted by the General Conference of 1846 —the Louisville, the St. Louis, and the Louisiana.

It was ordered that three commissioners be appointed,

[1] See "Journal of the General Conference of 1846," pp. 65–67.

in accordance with the Plan of Separation, to act in concert with commissioners appointed for the Methodist Episcopal Church "concerning our interest in the Book Concern." These commissioners were H. B. Bascom, A. L. P. Green, and S. A. Latta. And "should no settlement be effected before 1848, said commissioners were to have authority to attend the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, to settle and adjust all questions involving property or funds which may be pending between the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South."[1]

Though the Southern conferences had thus consummated their separation from the Methodist Episcopal Church, as provided for in 1844, yet, as they had all along declared, they entertained feelings of the most cordial good-will and brotherly kindness toward their brethren of the Northern conferences, and they neither forgot nor neglected to give practical expression to those feelings in their official capacity as a General Conference. Accordingly, on Saturday, May 23d, it was by a rising and unanimous vote

Resolved, That Dr. Lovick Pierce be and is hereby delegated to visit the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church to be held in Pittsburg May, 1848, to tender to that body the Christian regards and fraternal salutations of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.

The statistics for the year 1846 are as follows:

Traveling preachers	1,519
Local preachers	2,833
White members	327,284
Colored members	124,961
Indian members	2,972
Total	459,569

[1] "Journal of the General Conference of 1846," p. 97.

St. Louis was selected as the place for the meeting of the General Conference of 1850. "The benediction was solemnly pronounced by the venerable senior superintendent, Bishop Soule," and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, was launched upon its providential and useful career.

CHAPTER V.

OPPOSITION AND FRICTION.

WHILE among the Southern conferences there was a practical unanimity of sentiment and action in favor of the Louisville Convention and in indorsement of its work, it was not so in the North. Though the Plan of Separation had been adopted by an overwhelming majority of the General Conference of 1844, there came afterward a reaction, and some of the men who voted for it and who advocated it, drew back from it when they realized that there was a probability of its being carried into effect. Even before the meeting of the Louisville Convention measures were taken to counteract its influence and forestall its probable conclusion. In particular, the editors of the two leading papers of the Methodist Episcopal Church, one of whom had moved the adoption of the plan and then advocated it in a strong speech, labored to impress the public mind unfavorably with regard to the convention. In the South, however, the question was considered as finally settled, and the general desire was to cultivate peace with the Northern portion of the church. This feeling was reciprocated on the part of many in the North, and expressed by some of the church papers. The editors of the two leading church papers, however, after the convention, became more pronounced and vigorous in their opposition than before, claiming and holding that the Southern organization was a secession if not a schism of the worst sort, that the Louisville Convention

was not held in accordance with the Plan of Separation, that the plan itself was unconstitutional and void. The venerable Bishop Soule was attacked and charged with being the prime agent in the whole movement. This implication and accusation of him in the leading papers led to such a complication and embarrassment in regard to the holding of conferences that it was thought best, in July, 1845, to call a meeting of the bishops to determine what should be done. Bishops Hedding, Waugh, Morris, and Janes were present. It was decided that it would be best for them to form a new plan of episcopal visitation, not including the Southern conferences. In addition to this, they adopted the following resolution governing their own administration:

Resolved, That the plan reported by a select committee of nine at the last General Conference, and adopted by that body, in regard to a distinct ecclesiastical connection, should such a course be found necessary by the Annual Conferences in the slaveholding States, is regarded by us as of binding obligation in the premises, so far as our own administration is concerned.

EDMUND S. JANES, *Secretary*.

When this wise, conservative, and just action of the bishops became known, it had a decided influence in quieting matters and in settling the public mind.

These sound and conservative views were ably seconded by men of the highest standing in the Northern Connection. Dr. Bangs and Dr. Olin contended that the faith and honor of the church were deeply concerned in carrying out the Plan of Separation, and thereby greatly endeared themselves to the lovers of peace, both North and South. The church papers, too, with the exceptions mentioned, sanctioned the action of the bishops and took the same honorable ground.[1]

Bishop Morris had occasion, on being invited by a

[1] "History of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South," p. 238.

minority of the Missouri Conference to take charge of them and preside over them in a conference capacity, to write a letter in which he expounds at greater length his views of the Plan of Separation and its operation. The letter is dated Burlington, Ia., September 8, 1845. He closes with these words:

> In the meantime there is much more bad feeling indulged in respecting the separation than there is any necessity for. If the Plan of Separation had been carried out in good faith and Christian feeling on both sides, it would scarcely have been felt any more than the division of an Annual Conference. It need not destroy confidence or embarrass the work, if the business be managed in the spirit of Christ. I trust the time is not far distant when the brethren, North and South, will cease their hostilities and betake themselves to their prayers and other appropriate duties in earnest. Then, and not till then, may we expect the Lord to bless us as in former days.
>
> THOS. A. MORRIS.

The conciliatory action of the bishops, however, and the wise and pacific words of Bishop Morris did not put an end to the reaction which was going on in the North. The Annual Conferences, though giving a numerical majority for the change of the Sixth Restrictive Rule, did not give the requisite three-fourths vote, and the rule was not changed. The numbers are as follows:

For changing the rule in the Northern conferences	1,164
In the Southern conferences	971
Total	2,135
Against changing the rule	1,070

This, of course, was irritating to the South. The South did and said things that were irritating to the North. The attempts to adjust the difficulties of the border conferences developed a great deal of friction and ill feeling. It was charged that there were infractions of the plan on both sides, and perhaps it was true. It was a time of political agitation, excitement, and animosity preceding and following the annexation of Texas, as a slave State, to the

United States. The culminating point was reached when the General Conference of the M. E. Church in Pittsburg in 1848, by a very large majority, declared the Plan of Separation null and void.

This General Conference also refused to receive Dr. Lovick Pierce in his official relation as fraternal delegate from the M. E. Church, South, though extending to him "all personal courtesies." Their action was as follows:

WHEREAS there are serious questions and difficulties existing between the M. E. Church and the M. E. Church, South,

Resolved, That while we tender to Rev. Dr. Pierce all personal courtesies and invite him to attend our sessions, the General Conference does not consider it proper, at present, to enter into fraternal relations with the M. E. Church, South.

The commissioners of the Southern Church, appointed to confer with the authorities of the M. E. Church concerning the adjustment of all matters pertaining to the division of the church property and funds, were present at the General Conference of 1848, and reported themselves ready for negotiations. The conference replied that they had no authority independently of the Annual Conference to enter into arbitration with the commissioners of the M. E. Church, South, in relation to the claims set up by them to a division of the vested funds of the M. E. Church.

As to the rejection of the fraternal delegate of the M. E. Church, South, at Pittsburg, in 1848, it may be said that the General Conference at Brooklyn in 1872 practically reversed that by their action in appointing fraternal delegates to the Southern General Conference at Louisville in 1874. Before leaving the city of Pittsburg in 1848, the rejected Southern delegate sent a communication to the General Conference of the M. E. Church, saying:

The M. E. Church, South, can never renew the offer of fraternal relations between the two great bodies of Wesleyan Methodists in the United States;

but the proposition can be renewed at any time, either now or hereafter, by the M. E. Church, and if ever made *upon the basis of the Plan of Separation* as adopted by the General Conference of 1844, the Church, South, will cordially entertain the proposition.

This action of their delegate was approved by the General Conference of the Southern Church in 1850 in an explicit and emphatic resolution.

The General Conference of the M. E. Church in May, 1872, after various preliminary communications and negotiations, appointed a delegation of two distinguished ministers and one distinguished layman to convey their "fraternal greetings to the General Conference of the M. E. Church, South," to convene in May, 1874, and they were "received with pleasure."

It may be said that the Methodist Episcopal Church implicitly nullified their nullification of the Plan of Separation by sending fraternal delegates after the declaration contained in the final communication of the rejected Southern delegate in 1848, as well as by the declarations of the Cape May Commission in August, 1876.

As has been said, the General Conference of the M. E. Church in 1848 replied to the Commissioners of the Southern Church that they had no power to authorize or negotiate a division of the property with the Southern Church, without the concurrent vote of the Annual Conferences. This the Annual Conferences had refused to give. The General Conference proposed, however, to submit once more to the Annual Conferences a recommendation to change the Sixth Restrictive Rule so as to allow the claim of the Southern Church to be submitted to arbitration. The commissioners of the Southern Church saw no reason to believe that the same Annual Conferences that had once refused to change the Restrictive Rule in their favor, would do so now. Indeed, it was practically certain that, if *with*

the vote of the Southern Conferences, as in the former case,[1] the resulting vote was against changing the Restrictive Rule, it would be much more so *without* them. Believing in the justice of their claim, and, still more, desiring a judicial and moral vindication, they entered suit in 1849, in the United States Circuit Courts of New York and Ohio, for the recovery of their *pro rata* portion of the property in the cities of New York and Cincinnati. It is a sad history, but history it is.

[1] See p. 53.

CHAPTER VI.

SECOND GENERAL CONFERENCE OF THE M. E. CHURCH, SOUTH.

THE second General Conference of the M. E. Church, South, was held in the year 1850, in Centenary Church, in the city of St. Louis. It had been a stormy quadrennium. The church had, nevertheless, passed through it without suffering serious damage or discouragement. To be sure, it was a matter of unceasing regret that they had not been able to live on terms of Christian and fraternal communion with the other portion of the great M. E. Church of which they had once been a part. They labored under the double disadvantage of separation from the fellowship of their former brethren and proscription by them, and of exclusion from participation in the material resources which through half a century and more their united efforts, gifts, and sacrifices had gathered together. But they had not labored altogether in vain. There had been an increase of 48,236 white and 10,633 colored members. They had now a total membership of over half a million, or, in exact figures, 520,256; an increase of 60,685 during the quadrennium.

The address of the bishops calls attention to the state and needs of the church, to the trials and tribulations of the past four years, and to the work already accomplished, as well as to the expanding opportunities and increasing responsibilities of the church for the time to come.

In 1848, two missionaries had been appointed and sent

out by the bishops to China—Rev. Benjamin Jenkins and Rev. Charles Taylor, M.D., both of the South Carolina Conference. They had begun their work in the great city of Shanghai. They had purchased a lot and erected missionary residences and a church in that city, and were preaching the gospel.

The work of the church among the Indians had been annually enlarging in extent and increasing in interest. The number of Indian members had increased from 2972 in 1846 to 3487 in 1850.

The missions to the slave population of the Southern plantations continued, in a very eminent degree, to share the sympathies of the church and the blessing of God. The Southern Church recognized this as their special mission. To it they felt themselves especially called, and they felt and confessed that "woe would be to the church, if they neglected it." As the result of their efforts among this "servile progeny of Ham," they had added nearly 11,000 of them to the roll of the sons of God.

In 1848, California was ceded to the United States, and soon afterward followed the discovery of gold in that distant and unknown territory. The excitement produced throughout the country by this event was intense, and thousands of people from all quarters flocked thither to find their fortune in that favored land. It was filling up with a rapidity perhaps unequaled in the history of the world. The bishops of the Southern Church, feeling that they shared in the responsibility of leavening this mass of humanity with the gospel, and urged by Southern emigrants to California, judged it their "duty to send missionaries to unfurl their banner in that distant and interesting portion of the great republic." Accordingly, they appointed Rev. Dr. Boring and Rev. A. M. Wynn, of

Georgia, and Rev. W. D. Pollock, of St. Louis, as missionaries to California. They sailed for San Francisco by way of Panama in February, 1850, well supplied with standard Methodist literature, Sunday-school publications, and copies of the Bible, furnished by the American Bible Society. "Their progress exceeded their own expectations." Circuits were formed and members enrolled and classed, and though, in the absence of pastors, much of the work projected fell through, by and by "the church moved up to this sudden demand, and California was supplied with preachers as well as gold-diggers."

The commissioners, appointed to negotiate with the authorities of the M. E. Church concerning the division of the property, reported to the General Conference of 1850 the action of the General Conference of the M. E. Church at Pittsburg in the premises, and their own subsequent application to the civil courts for the adjustment of the claim, and were instructed to prosecute the claim until the final decision of the Supreme Court of the United States was rendered in the suits then pending. In the suit brought in New York the case was argued by D. Lord and Reverdy Johnson for the claimants, and by the able and distinguished Rufus Choate, G. Wood, and E. L. Fancher, afterward a Cape May commissioner, for the defendants. The opinion of the court was delivered on November 11, 1851, and was in favor of the claimants on every material point. The suit in Ohio to recover their interest in the property at Cincinnati, was decided adversely to the Church, South, in July, 1852. The text of this decision is quoted in full in Curtiss's "Manual of Methodist Episcopal Church History," pp. 201, 202. The commissioners of the Church, South, appealed from the decision of the Court in Ohio to the Supreme Court of the United States, and the judgment of the Ohio Court

was reversed by the unanimous decision of the highest tribunal in the land, in April, 1854.

The journals of the General Conferences of 1844, 1846, 1848, and of the Louisville Convention of 1845 were before the court. The Discipline figured largely before Cæsar, and great lawyers, prompted by Bangs and Peck on the one side, and by Smith and Green on the other, made themselves minutely acquainted with the genius and details of Episcopal Methodist government. They had a patient hearing before a bench renowned in jurisprudence and accustomed to construe contracts.[1]

Henry B. Bascom was elected bishop at the General Conference of 1850, and David S. Doggett was elected editor of the "Quarterly Review." It was upon the occasion of his own ordination that he delivered his memorable sermon on "Glorying in the Cross" (Gal. vi. 14). He lived, however, to hold only one Annual Conference, the St. Louis, at Independence, Mo., July, 1850. He died in September of the same year, at Louisville, Ky.

The career of Henry B. Bascom as preacher, educator, and author was brilliant; and as bishop, brief. The son of poor parents, his heritage was toil and privation. His school advantages ended in his twelfth year, and he was making pumps for a living at fifteen. At the age of seventeen he was admitted into the traveling connection in Ohio. Hard circuits were his portion and probation for a long time, yet no pulpit orator in his day had an equal fame. He preached at the General Conference of 1840, and one who was present describes the sermon thus:

"He preached in the Light Street Church to as dense a throng as could crowd into the spacious building, while the adjoining street was filled with people who could not find entrance. His text was, 'Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world.' The sermon embraced all the cardinal elements of the Christian system, set forth in a light so vivid, under illustrations so magnificent, and with a vehemence so rushing and pauseless, as to hold the vast audience spellbound. At particular passages, several of which we distinctly remember, the effect was awful. The sentences came like the sharp zigzag lightning; the tones of the preacher's voice were like articulate thunder. The hearer cowered under the weight of thought piled on thought, and was driven almost beside himself by the rapid whirl of dazzling imagery. The audience was bewildered by the quick succession of vivid pictures thrown off as by the turn of a grand kaleidoscope."[2]

[1] McTyeire's "History," p. 648.
[2] Dr. W. M. Wightman, in "Southern Christian Advocate."

But it was a popular error that his superiority lay in speaking only. His ecclesiastical state papers are of the very first rank. He wrote the Protest in the General Conference of 1844, and he wrote other papers which are models of mental grasp and perspicuity and force.

His devotion to his father in sickness and poverty was beautiful. He cut and hauled wood from the forest for the use of the household, and, to make himself a wakeful nurse, he slept on a bench with a block of wood for his pillow. After holding the St. Louis Conference he returned to St. Louis and preached on Sunday, greatly exhausting himself, and soon after, he died, with this testimony: "All my trust and confidence is in Almighty Goodness as revealed in the cross of Christ."[1]

[1] McTyeire's "History."

CHAPTER VII.

THE THIRD AND FOURTH GENERAL CONFERENCES OF THE M. E. CHURCH, SOUTH.

THE third General Conference of the M. E. Church, South, was held at Columbus, Ga., in May, 1854. There were one hundred and nineteen delegates in attendance, and among them we notice for the first time the names of some who were afterward to become distinguished in the history of the church: E. M. Marvin, H. N. McTyeire, and John C. Keener, as bishops, and Dr. E. E. Wiley, as the president of Emory and Henry College. Among the delegates we note also for the second time the name of Charles F. Deems, who afterward, in 1866, became the distinguished pastor of the Church of the Strangers in New York City, and so remained until his death.

Notwithstanding the unfortunate litigation of the period and the sorrowful and bitter newspaper controversies that attended it, the rank and file of the ministry and membership of the church had given themselves to their proper work, and the blessing of the Lord of the vineyard had attended their efforts. There was a very considerable and, in view of the state of the church and country, a very gratifying increase in the membership. The following figures will show the comparative membership of 1850 and 1854:

	Traveling preachers.	Local preachers.	White members.	Colored members.	Indian members.	Total.
1850....	1,700	3,955	375,520	135,594	3,487	520,256
1854....	2,092	4,359	428,501	164,584	3,757	603,303

The total increase of the quadrennium was 83,047.

The commissioners who were charged with the property question between the Northern and Southern churches, reported at the conference of 1854, that the suits had been decided in favor of the M. E. Church, South. The church was now in a position to establish a publishing-house of its own, which accordingly was done by the General Conference of 1854. Louisville, Memphis, Atlanta, St. Louis, Richmond, and Columbus were voted for on the first three or four ballots, but on the sixth ballot Nashville received 60 out of 117 votes, and was selected, while Louisville received 57. This establishment was for the purpose of manufacturing and publishing books, and was to be under the control of two agents and a book committee. The object of the institution was to advance the cause of Christianity by disseminating religious knowledge and useful literary and scientific information in cheap books, tracts, and periodicals. The agents were authorized to invest as much as $75,000 in grounds, house, and fixtures. Rev. Edward Stevenson and Rev. F. A. Owen were elected the first agents of the house.

The membership in the State of Arkansas had increased so as to justify a new conference, which was provided for by the General Conference of 1854. It was organized by Bishop Kavanaugh at Washington, Ark., in November of the same year. The Kansas Mission Conference was also provided for by the General Conference of 1854, and was to include Kansas Territory and part of the Territory of New Mexico.

It will be remembered that a few months after his elevation to the episcopacy, Bishop Bascom had died. Bishop Soule was now seventy-three years of age, and in very feeble health. Bishop Andrew and Bishop Capers, coming from the previous century, were also men well advanced in years, and worn with long, laborious, and exhausting

toil. The remaining superintendent, Bishop Paine, was in the prime of a robust and vigorous manhood, but he needed relief and assistance in the widening range of episcopal responsibility and duty. It was decided to strengthen the episcopacy by the addition of three bishops. The choice of the conference fell on George F. Pierce, of Georgia, John Early, of Virginia, and Hubbard H. Kavanaugh, of Kentucky. And they were ordained in the Methodist Church in Columbus, Ga., on Wednesday, May 24, 1854.

The General Conference of 1858 was opened on the first day of May, in the hall of the House of Representatives, in the capitol, at Nashville, Tenn. The publishing-house, which was projected by the General Conference of 1854 and located at Nashville, had been completed and was in operation. This fact determined the future rank and destiny of Nashville as the ecclesiastical center of Southern Methodism. It was right and proper that the General Conference should now convene in the city which their choice had selected as the base of their supplies and the headquarters of their ecclesiastical operations. Accordingly, toward the end of April, 1858, from all quarters of the South, by steamboat and railroad and stage-coach, the delegates came up to the great quadrennial representative convocation. There were present one hundred and fifty-one duly accredited members—only twenty-nine less than the full number of delegates at the last and largest General Conference of the undivided church in 1844, and twenty-one more than were present at the preceding and next largest General Conference of the undivided church in 1840.

Six of the seven bishops who signed the journal of the Conference of 1854 were present: Joshua Soule, J. O. Andrew, R. Paine, G. F. Pierce, John Early, H. H. Kavanaugh. The saintly Capers, after a life of singular purity,

fidelity, and usefulness, had finished his course with joy, had laid his armor by, and had gone to join the general assembly and church of the firstborn, whose names are written in heaven; and his name, disappearing from the rolls and journals of the church on earth, was written with theirs on high. The memory of his self-sacrificing devotion to the good of men, poor and rich, black and white, is like ointment poured forth through all the Southern church and land.

The address of the bishops reminds the assembled representatives of the church that "the work of God has greatly prospered and enlarged within our bounds. God has done great things for us and by us. The retrospect of the last four years is full of instruction and encouragement; and yet how much more might have been accomplished had we been faithful to the grace of God received, and zealous in diffusing that grace abroad."

While the usual and due prominence was given to the missionary work among the slaves of the Southern plantations, which the address of the bishops declares to be "the crowning glory of our church," the attention of the church was called to the outlying regions, and measures were adopted to extend its operations in as many ways and directions as possible. The General Conference at this session provided for the organization of the Rio Grande Mission Conference, and recommended to the bishops the establishment of a mission in Central America at the earliest practicable day, and by resolution requested the bishops and the board of missions, in the event of providential indications, "to proceed at once to organize a mission at such a point in Africa as they shall judge most expedient."

And yet, while laying their plans for more extended and efficient missionary operations among the slaves of

the South and for founding a mission among the benighted blacks

> Where Afric's sunny fountains
> Roll down their golden sands,

thus manifesting a peculiar and special interest in this race, whom at least they *knew* better than others, this General Conference adopted a measure which at first sight will seem utterly enigmatical and contradictory. On May 19th, after a good deal of discussion, a resolution was adopted, by a majority of a hundred and forty-one to seven, to the effect that the rule on the subject of slavery be expunged from the general rules of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South; and the bishops were instructed to lay the resolution before the Annual Conferences for their concurrent action. Those who passed this measure may give their own reasons for it:

> The Southern Church has avowed as their settled belief and sentiment that slavery is not a subject of ecclesiastical legislation. It is not the province of the church to deal with civil institutions in her legislative capacity. This is our position. The primary single object of this action is to conform the Discipline to that profession. In the Twenty-third Article of Religion in our Book of Discipline we recognize the Constitution and Government of the United States, and obedience to them as a religious duty, and pledge ourselves, in our very profession of faith, to fidelity to the country and her authority. We claim to be loyal citizens. We have only set ourselves right on the question that has so long troubled the church. The legislation in reference to it was contradictory and absurd. While denouncing slavery as an evil and pledging the church to its extirpation, it provided by statute for its allowance and perpetuation. We have surrendered to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and, holding ourselves to be debtors to the wise and the unwise, the bond and the free, we can now preach Christ alike to the master and the servant, secure in the confidence and affection of the one and the other. The benign spirit of our holy religion not only demands that masters should render to their servants that which is just and equal as to food, raiment, and shelter, but that religious instruction should be provided alike for servants as for children. The gospel is God's gift to the black man as well as to the white, and Christian masters should see to it that all their dependents are regularly supplied with the preaching of the Word and all the privileges of the Church of God. The salvation of the colored race in our midst,

as far as human instrumentality can secure it, is the primary duty of the Southern Church. Let us earnestly seek to meet our responsibilities, and then, whatever evil thing may be said of us, we shall have the testimony of a good conscience and the blessing of Him who is judge of all.[1]

It does seem that this action deserves at least the credit of consistency. The only consistent alternative was to refuse to receive slaveholders into the church at all, and to exclude those that were already in. If the Methodist Church had adopted this rule in the beginning, all the conflict and strife on this subject might have been avoided, though it may be questioned whether its influence and work and usefulness would have been as extensive. Indeed, it is practically certain that, in that case, the Methodist Church would have had very little success in the South.

At the General Conference of 1858 Bishop Paine reported that the manuscript of his "Life and Times of Bishop McKendree" was ready for publication. The church now has this memorable production in enduring form. And though Bishop McKendree was second only to Asbury in his influence on American Methodism, North and South, if indeed he was second to him, yet as he was a son of the South it was fitting that a son of the South should write his biography. The book is worthy of its subject; and it is declared by those competent to judge, to be, incidentally, the best extant history of the origin and growth of the constitution of American Episcopal Methodism.

Much attention was given to the new publishing-house by the General Conference of 1858, and that man of resources, tact, and uncommon sense, John B. McFerrin, was put at its head as agent for the next quadrennium, with R. Abbey as financial secretary.

The report of the committee on education was an interesting document. It contained an exhaustive list of the

[1] "Journal of the General Conference of 1858," pp. 461, 584.

colleges and schools under the patronage of the church. As long ago as 1858 a charter was obtained from the legislature of Tennessee for the Central University of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. This university, however, never came into existence. In two short years after this the country was filled with rumors of war, and the best laid plans of the Southern Methodist Church for establishing missions in Central America and in Africa and for founding a great university came to naught.

The growth of the church for the preceding four years is shown by the following figures:

	Traveling preachers.	Local preachers.	White members.	Colored members.	Indian members.	Total.
1854....	2,092	4,359	428,511	164,584	3,757	603,303
1858....	2,577	4,984	499,694	188,036	3,874	699,165

showing a total increase of 95,862.

The next tabulation will show a suggestive and sorrowful decrease.

Thomas O. Summers was elected editor of the "Quarterly Review." L. D. Huston was elected editor of "The Home Circle." H. N. McTyeire was elected editor of the "Nashville Christian Advocate" in the place of J. B. McFerrin; and the career of O. P. Fitzgerald as an editor began at the General Conference of 1858. He was elected editor of the "Pacific Methodist" by "a rising and unanimous vote." E. W. Sehon was elected missionary secretary.

New Orleans was selected as the place for the meeting of the General Conference of 1862. Little did the delegates dream of the events and changes that were to take place in the interval—that the whole country would be convulsed with civil war, and that in the very month before they were to meet in New Orleans that city would be occupied by an invading, hostile army.

CHAPTER VIII.

SOME GLIMPSES OF THE WAR PERIOD.

THE statistical returns for the year 1860 show that up to the outbreak of the war the Southern Church kept on the even tenor of its way, extending its operations and increasing its membership from all classes of its population, whites, blacks, and Indians. In that year she had enrolled 537,136 white members, an increase of 37,442 over the year 1858; 207,776 colored members, an increase of 19,740 over the year 1858; and 4160 Indian members, an increase of 286 over 1858. The total membership of the church in 1860 was over three quarters of a million, or, in exact figures, 757,205, a total increase of 56,040 in the two preceding years.

All the interests of the church were in a flourishing condition. The Publishing House, under the efficient management of John B. McFerrin, had developed a large business, and continued to prosper up to the time when the Federal army entered Nashville in 1862. It was then taken by the military and used for a United States printing-office and other purposes. Much of the stock and material was used up, and the machinery greatly damaged.

In the matter of education, the statistics show that up to the beginning of the war the Southern Church had multiplied, with commendable zeal, her schools and colleges for both sexes over the vast extent of her territory, from ocean to ocean and from the Ohio to the Gulf, in whose halls her youth were regularly receiving the benefits of scholastic training, entering and returning in perpetual

succession. In 1858 she had in successful operation 106 schools and colleges.

But during the war, professors, teachers, and students were withdrawn from the seats of learning, their halls were vacated, schools were deserted, text-books and apparatus were abandoned, college endowments were swept away, patrons were impoverished. Hundreds of schools as well as churches were burned or dismantled by use as hospitals, warehouses, or stables. The ghastly devastations left in the track of invading armies, the horrors of two thousand battles,[1] the portentous rumors and the agonizing anxieties that are incident to war—these were the portion of the South through four long and sorrowful years. And yet in the midst of these scenes and these sorrows the preachers of the Southern Methodist Church, as a rule, continued faithful to their holy calling and their heaven-appointed work. They filled their appointments much as of old. They preached, they exhorted, they prayed, they held protracted meetings, they attended, with some exceptions, their Annual Conferences. And during those trying years gracious revivals of religion among the people attested how the divine presence was still in their midst.[2] Not among the people only, but in many places among the soldiers of the Lost Cause, the gospel was faithfully preached, and the Lord confirmed it with signs following.

The writer will be excused for introducing here some perhaps lengthy extracts from the war diary of a chaplain in the Confederate army. They are interesting, as well for the vivid pictures of war times and war scenes drawn by an eye-witness, as for the account of the remarkable work of grace among the soldiers, which they contain. And that chaplain was John B. McFerrin.

1 Official reports of Surgeon-General Barnes give 2110.
2 "Journal of the General Conference of 1866," pp. 16, ff.

When the Federal army occupied Middle Tennessee in 1862, I took my family south of the lines and stopped at Cornersville, Tenn., leaving house and furniture in the hands of others. A little later I went to Atlanta, Ga., to meet the bishops and the Board of Missions. While there I was cut off from my family. It was a sad and sorrowful day. I was in Georgia, my wife and children away from their home in Tennessee. We were ignorant of each other's whereabouts or condition. General Bragg's raid into Kentucky drew the Federal army out of Middle Tennessee, and I returned to Cornersville, where the Tennessee Conference was to be held on the 15th of October, 1862. No bishop being present, I was elected president of the conference, and conducted the business to the end. The attendance was tolerably full, though some of the brethren were too far north to reach the place. At a meeting of the bishops and Missionary Board, April, 1863, at Macon, Ga., it was determined to send missionaries to the Confederate army. I was appointed in charge of all the Methodist missionary work in the Army of the Tennessee. I entered immediately on my work in the army, and as fast as I could, I engaged as many preachers as I thought the Missionary Society could sustain. I began my work in Shelbyville. I was hailed with pleasure by the officers and soldiers. For some time I remained about Shelbyville and the adjoining neighborhoods, preaching day and night. A great work of grace had commenced in many of the commands, and the chaplains and preachers in the neighborhood were actively engaged in the precious revival that was springing up in almost every direction. On May 17, 1863, 10 A.M., I preached in the Presbyterian Church: house crowded with officers and soldiers; serious attention. At three o'clock, I preached in Bates' brigade: a very good time; revival in the brigade. May 19th, I preached in B. Johnson's brigade: thirty to forty mourners; glorious work in this command. May 20th, I preached in General Polk's brigade: many mourners; several conversions. May 21st, I preached in General Wood's brigade: forty to fifty mourners; fifteen or twenty conversions. May 22d, I spoke in General Riddle's brigade: a great work here; already more than one hundred conversions in this command. So the work went on. But in June I was taken sick, and remained unfit for work till August, when I joined the army again at Chattanooga, and on August 14th preached in General Wright's brigade. There were five conversions that night, among them a captain. From this till September 19th I was constantly engaged in preaching, visiting, and holding prayer-meetings in various parts of the army, and many precious souls were converted during this revival. On September 19th and 20th the great battle was fought at Chickamauga, fifteen miles from Chattanooga. The slaughter was tremendous on both sides, but the Confederates held the field. I remained on the battlefield eleven days, nursing the sick, ministering to the wounded, and praying for the dying. The sight was awful. Thousands of men killed and wounded. They lay thick all around, shot in every possible manner, and the wounded dying every day. Among the wounded were many Federal soldiers. To these I ministered, prayed with them, and

wrote letters by flag of truce to their friends in the North. They seemed to appreciate every act of kindness.

The Federals occupied Chattanooga, and for weeks the two armies were in full view of each other. All along the foot of Missionary Ridge we preached almost every night to crowded assemblies, and many precious souls were brought to God. After the battle of Missionary Ridge the Confederate army retreated and went into winter quarters at Dalton, Ga. During these many months the chaplains and missionaries were at work—preaching, visiting the sick, and distributing Bibles, tracts, and religious newspapers. There was preaching in Dalton every night but four, for four months; and in the camps all around the city preaching and prayer-meetings occurred every night. The soldiers erected stands, improvised seats, and even built log churches, where they worshiped God in spirit and in truth. The result was that thousands were happily converted and were prepared for the future that awaited them. Officers and men alike were brought under religious influence. In all my life, perhaps, I never witnessed more displays of God's power in the awakening and conversion of sinners than in these protracted meetings during the winter and spring of 1863–64. The preachers of the various denominations were alike zealous; our army ministerial associations were pleasant, and at our meetings we had precious seasons of joy and rejoicing while recounting the victories of the cross. In May, 1864, I left the army and went to Montgomery, Ala., to meet the bishops and the Board of Missions. All resolved to maintain the work of religion in the army. Hearing that the armies had commenced hostilities near Dalton, I left on the first train for the place of conflict, and resumed my work among the soldiers. At Atlanta a gentleman gave me a bolt of blue linen. I had a suit made of it for the warm weather. It was pleasant, but attracted much attention. When General Johnston evacuated Atlanta, he was relieved of his command and General Hood made chief commander. He at once resolved to march into Middle Tennessee, and so cut off the supplies of the Federal army in Georgia. During all this marching and fighting we kept up religious services wherever it was possible to collect the men together. From May to September the army was in motion, and I might say every foot of ground was contested. Thousands were slain in battle or died of sickness. I visited the hospitals, and preached, with the missionaries and chaplains, wherever it was possible to do so. At Tuscumbia and Florence for two weeks we had refreshing seasons. Large congregations assembled in the churches and in camp, many souls were converted, and Christians were made to rejoice. This seemed a preparation for the disasters that followed. The army moved on to Franklin, Tenn., where occurred the most bloody battle of the war in proportion to the numbers engaged. The fight began late in the afternoon of November 30th, and continued till a late hour in the night. The slaughter was terrible on both sides. The Federals were strongly fortified, and the Confederates fought in an open field. They charged the breastworks several times, and hundreds were shot down while the muzzles of their muskets rested

on the head-logs of the fortifications. By sunrise next morning I was passing through the heaps of slain soldiers, having spent the night at the field-hospital. Such a scene I never before looked upon. I had witnessed more extensive battles, but here the dead lay in heaps. The sight was sickening, heart-rending, horrible, awful. Never before had I been so fully impressed with the cruelty of war, notwithstanding I had witnessed many bloody fights. On the 7th of December my wife ran the blockade and met me at the house of her cousin, near Nashville. It was a joyful meeting, after a separation of fourteen long months. I asked for the children, but could not see them. When I told my wife where I had been, what I had done, what good meetings we had had, how I waited on the sick and ministered to the well, she rose to her feet and said, "Husband, stay with them to the last!"

On December 15th and 16th the battle around Nashville was fought. Hood's ranks were broken, and he retreated toward Franklin. The ground had been covered with snow and ice for several days. Then came a heavy rain; the snow and ice were melting, and the poor soldiers—many of them barefooted, or nearly so—moved back with bleeding feet and aching hearts. They had expected, when they left Georgia, to regain their homes and see their friends; but now it was all over, and their spirits sank within them. Again I turned my back on home, and with downcast spirits accompanied the retreating army, in the rain, in the snow, over swollen streams and roads almost impassable. During this retreat I preached whenever practicable, especially at Columbus, Miss., and Augusta, Ga., where I was engaged in visiting the hospitals also. . . .

After the surrender of Lee and Johnston I returned to Nashville, reaching there late at night, May 20, 1865. My house had been burned, and my family and myself went to her brother's and began life anew. Horses gone, cattle gone, fences gone, timber gone, money gone, servants gone—the outlook was unpromising. Nothing daunted, however, we went to work to make a living.

October came. The Tennessee Conference, which had not convened for two years, met in Nashville, at Tulip Street, and the bishop read me out as Book Agent.[1]

The work of another of these army chaplains is worthy a place in these pages. He was connected with the army that operated in Arkansas and the West. The work done by him and under his direction is one of the lights that relieve the dark picture of the horrors of war. "Under the faithful ministry of gospel truth by him and other faithful chaplains and missionaries," says one who was

[1] Fitzgerald's "Life of McFerrin," pp. 269, ff.

upon the field, "very extensive revivals of religion occurred in the army, especially during the winter encampment in Arkansas, 1863–64. At Little Rock, Camden, Camp Bragg, and Three Creeks, revivals continued for months. I kept an estimate for two years of the number of conversions, and in the two years they amounted to more than two thousand." Says another, who was associated in the work:

The writer [Rev. Horace Jewell] was a chaplain in one of the Arkansas regiments, and was intimately associated with Brother Marvin in his labors for the spiritual welfare of the soldiers. I suppose that some of the finest efforts of his life were sermons preached to the soldiers in the camps. I have no doubt that he was instrumental in the conversion of hundreds. Not only was he successful in his personal ministry, but he was able to inaugurate measures that assisted others in working for the cause of Christ. He directed their labors and energies to successful results. For the ends of association and organization he called together a meeting of chaplains and other ministers, representing Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians, and organized a regular Army Church. The vast amount of good accomplished by it can only be fully known in eternity.

The following is a copy of the plan of organization:

ARTICLES OF FAITH.

The Christian men of the army, believing that the habitation of God by his Spirit constitutes the church, agree, for their edification and for the conversion of their fellowmen, to organize the Church of the Army, with the following Articles of Faith and Constitution:

ARTICLE I. We believe the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments to be the Word of God, the only rule of faith and obedience.

ART. II. We believe in one God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, the same in substance, equal in power and glory.

ART. III. We believe in the fall in Adam, the redemption by Christ, and the renewing of the Holy Ghost.

ART. IV. We believe in justification by faith alone, and therefore receive and rest upon Christ alone as our only hope.

ART. V. We believe in the communion of saints and the doctrine of eternal rewards and punishments.

CONSTITUTION.

The Christian men who have been baptized, adopting these "Articles of Faith" in each regiment, shall constitute one church, who shall choose ten

officers to take the spiritual oversight of the same. Of the officers so selected, the chaplain, or one selected by themselves, shall act as moderator. The officers will meet once a month, or oftener, if necessary, and in the exercise of discipline will be governed by the teachings of Christ. They will keep a record of the names of the members, and the manner in which their connection with the church is dissolved.

One of the associated chaplains has this to say, long after the war:

Soon after the organization of these army churches in the various regiments, we were visited by a gracious revival, in which hundreds were converted and gathered into these army churches. My position as a presiding elder on two large districts since the war has given me large opportunity to compare the results of the work in this organization. My conviction is that a much larger percent. of the converts in these army churches have remained faithful than is usual in our ordinary revival meetings.[1]

Dr. B. T. Kavanaugh, writing of the results of this work among the soldiers, says:

After the close of the war, when the men were discharged and had returned home, I was traveling through Texas, and put up for the night at the house of a Christian widow lady. I was telling her of our Army Church and of its happy influence on our soldiers, when she replied with a smile and said, "Yes, sir; I have heard of it before, greatly to my delight; for I had two sons in the army, and they have both returned to me converted, Christian men." I have met with others who dated their Christian experience back to their service in the army.

These are examples—exceptional examples, it is true—of the work done by Southern Methodist preachers among the soldiers during the war.

On April 9, 1865, General Lee surrendered to General Grant at Appomattox in Virginia; on April 26th General Johnston surrendered to General Sherman at Greensboro, N. C. The South was conquered and the war was ended. The soldiers of the Northern armies returned to homes of comfort and a land of comparative plenty amid the rejoicings of millions. It was otherwise in the South.

[1] Finney's "Life of Bishop Marvin," pp. 378, 379.

Everywhere were desolation and destitution, and, for a moment, the pall of despair. Homes and houses had been destroyed. Plantations and farms had been laid waste. Fences had been burned. The live stock had been used up by the Confederates or confiscated by the Federals, and those were considered fortunate who had, at the close of the war, a solitary mule, an abandoned army horse, or a single milk cow. Mills were destroyed. Implements of industry were gone. Provisions and clothing had been exhausted, and large districts were on the verge of famine. Soldiers returned to their homes to find them in ruins and their loved ones in want. Women received back, with tears of rejoicing, husbands and brothers, fathers and sons, but they received them barefooted and in rags. Added to their difficulties and destitution were the exactions and oppressions of the rapacious adventurers, who, as agents of reconstruction, came down on the South like wolves on the fold.

The Southern people had lost their cause, for which let us unceasingly thank God; and they had lost their all. But they had not lost heart or hope or manhood or self-respect or courage, for which also let us thank God. After a breathing-spell they arose to meet the problems of their new situation, and to undertake the task of recuperation with a calmness, a courage, and a good-will which have been the admiration of the world.

The Southern Methodist Church shared all the disasters of the scene of war, and all the difficulties and embarrassments of the situation at its close. When in 1865 she called her rolls, though the church still lived many of her sons were dead or missing. She had suffered a threefold decimation in those terrible years from '61 to '65. Her ministers, as already noted, continued, straight on through the war, to preach the gospel to the people at home and

the soldiers on the field, to the whites and to the blacks, to the poor and to the—poorer; but the regular operations of the church machinery were much interfered with. The Annual Conferences, as a rule, were held, but with diminished numbers, and often without the presence of a bishop.

When the time approached for the General Conference of 1862, appointed to meet in New Orleans, though delegates had been elected by all the Annual Conferences, yet it was thought impracticable to attempt the holding of a General Conference at that time and place. Contrary to the expectations and calculations of the General Conference of 1858, Admiral Farragut and General Butler had anticipated them in the occupancy of New Orleans, in April, 1862; and it was not entirely certain that General Butler would hospitably receive the General Conference or facilitate its proceedings. It therefore lapsed.

In August, 1865, after a short season for review and reflection, the bishops of the church held a meeting in Columbus, Ga., and issued a "Pastoral Address to the Preachers and Members of the Church." They reviewed the past few years and the present situation.

It was like the blast of a trumpet, and gave no uncertain sound:

"The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, still lived, and in all its polity and principles was unchanged. Neither disintegration nor absorption was for a moment to be thought of, all rumors to the contrary notwithstanding. Whatever banner had fallen or been furled, that of Southern Methodism was still unfurled; whatever cause had been lost, that of Southern Methodism survived."

The Annual Conferences were instructed to elect delegates to the session of the General Conference to be held in New Orleans in 1866, according to adjournment eight years before. In the meeting of the Annual Conferences of the fall of 1865, "the peeled and scattered hosts, dis-

couraged and confused by adversities and adverse rumors, rallied; and never did delegates meet in General Conference from center and remotest posts more enthusiastically. Of one hundred and fifty-three delegates elect, one hundred and forty-nine were present."[1]

[1] McTyeire, "History of Methodism."

CHAPTER IX.

THE GENERAL CONFERENCE OF 1866.

THE first session of the General Conference after the close of the war was held in the Carondelet Street Church in New Orleans, in April, 1866. It was, next to that of 1846, the most important and memorable in the history of the church. Five of the six bishops were present—Andrew, Paine, Pierce, Early, and Kavanaugh. Bishop Soule was too feeble to be in attendance. Thomas O. Summers was elected secretary.

On the third day of the session a delegation from the Baltimore Conference appeared, asking admission into the M. E. Church, South. At the time of the separation in 1845, this conference had adhered to the Methodist Episcopal Church. In 1861 they withdrew from that jurisdiction, and maintained an independent existence until their session at Alexandria in March, 1866, when they formally adhered to the M. E. Church, South, and delegates, six in number, were elected to the General Conference in New Orleans.

Notwithstanding this accession, the statistics show a large and suggestive decrease in membership. In 1860 the general minutes showed a grand total of 757,205 members; in 1866 it had fallen to 511,161, showing a loss of 246,044. In the South, as in the North, as President Lincoln said, "The Methodist Church sent more soldiers to the field, more nurses to the hospitals, and more prayers to heaven than any other;" and the great decrease in the

membership of both churches bears suggestive witness that the Methodists did not stay at home and take care of themselves.

On the fourth day of the session, when the General Conference had gotten under full headway, there was a very pleasant interruption of the proceedings. The secretary announced that he had received a telegraphic dispatch from the New York East Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, then in session in Brooklyn. It was as follows:

WHEREAS the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, is now in session in the city of New Orleans; therefore,

Resolved, That we, the New York East Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, hereby present to that venerable representative body our Christian salutations, and cordially invite them, together with us, to make next Sabbath, April 8, 1866, a day of special prayer, both in private and in the public congregations, for the peace and unity of our common country and for the full restoration of Christian sympathy and love between the churches, especially between the different branches of Methodism in this nation;

That the secretary be instructed to transmit by telegraph a copy of this resolution to the secretary of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, at New Orleans.

This communication was received with great interest, and the General Conference, by a standing vote, adopted a resolution instructing the secretary to express by telegraph to the New York East Conference their cordial reciprocation of these Christian salutations and their cordial agreement to unite with that conference on Sunday, April 8th, "in special and solemn prayer, in private and in the public congregations, for the very desirable objects specified in their fraternal message."[1]

Numerous changes, some of them important, were made in the economy of the church by the General Conference of 1866. Says one of those who took a prominent part: "Men's minds had become used to great changes, and the

[1] "Journal of the General Conference of 1866," p. 26.

session at New Orleans was therefore favorable for measures upon which the usual conservatism might have hesitated long in ordinary times."[1]

Attendance upon class-meeting, which up to this time was obligatory, was made voluntary, and so put upon the same ground as attendance upon the other means of grace. The General Conference did not, by any means, intend, in this action, to abolish the class-meeting; but eventually, and to the great regret of many, bishops, preachers, and people, it resulted in a practical abolition of this time-honored institution, though it still lingers in some places, and love-feasts are regularly held in connection with quarterly meetings.

The rule imposing a probation of six months on candidates for membership was set aside. It was supposed that "admission to the church would be guarded with reasonable and conscientious care." It is to be feared, however, that this is not in all cases true, and that there is practically insufficient detention of candidates for ascertaining their spiritual condition or obtaining substantial assurances of their religious experience or the genuineness of their purpose of consecration and obedience. In some conferences, however, there are exceptions, and the door of admission into the church is carefully and jealously guarded, as it ought to be in all.

The pastoral term was, not without much discussion and opposition, extended from two to four years. District conferences were discussed and recommended, but not formally adopted and authoritatively imposed till the General Conference of 1870. Among the most important measures of the General Conference of 1866 was the adoption of lay representation in the General and the Annual Conferences. The experiment had been made

[1] McTyeire, "History of Methodism."

and the example set by the Methodist Protestant Church, which indeed was organized on the basis of lay representation as long before as 1830. A sentiment, says Bishop McTyeire, in favor of lay delegation had been growing for years in the Southern Methodist Church. At least two tentative schemes had preceded the legislative action of 1866, one in the Virginia Conference and one in the Louisiana Conference. The law, as adopted in 1866, provided for four lay delegates for each presiding elder's district in the Annual Conferences, while in the General Conference, the law-making body, the number of lay delegates was made equal to the clerical.

So ripe was public opinion, so propitious the times, and so well digested was the scheme, that this great change was introduced without heat or partisanship. Unstintedly, on their own motion, the ministry, who had held this power from the beginning, divided it equally with lay brethren, and a new power was developed, a new interest awakened, and a new progress begun.

Bishop Soule, now eighty-five years old, in age and feebleness extreme, and Bishops Andrew and Early, advanced in years, and worn with incessant travel and excessive toil, were, at their own reluctant request, retired from active service and four new bishops were elected: W. M. Wightman, Enoch M. Marvin, David S. Doggett, and Holland N. McTyeire. Dr. Wightman had been a member of the General Conferences of 1840 and 1844, prior to the division of the church, and of every General Conference of the Southern Church after the division. From 1840 to 1854 he was editor of the "Southern Christian Advocate." From 1854 to 1859 he was president of Wofford College in South Carolina, and after 1859 chancellor of the Southern University at Greensboro, Ala., till his election as bishop. He was the author of the "Life of Bishop William Capers," and a contributor to the "Life of Dr. Olin," edited by Mrs. Olin. He was a man

of fine ability and of superior scholarship. His sermons showed most careful preparation, were delivered with great deliberation and precision, and often rose into eloquence.

Brother Marvin, as those who knew him preferred to call him, came from the common people, retained always the simplicity and ruggedness of the common people, and was always a favorite with the common people. He was born in a log cabin, and when seventeen years old, in a log cabin he was born again. But he *was* born again. Nobody that knew him ever doubted that. College training he had none, but he had the old-time religion and much native mental vigor. What of him was not God-made was self-made. When he went up to join conference at Jefferson City, in his native State of Missouri in 1842, his homeliness of person, his awkwardness of manner, and his homespun, misfit clothing marked him as a country curiosity. In these respects he was not unlike the homely-faced, awkward-mannered, ill-clad rail-splitter of Kentucky, who afterward became President of the United States. But he could preach. He had it in him to rise. And he rose. In 1854 he was a delegate to the General Conference. In 1855 he was pastor of a metropolitan church in St. Louis. In 1863 he was superintendent of chaplains in the army, with what results we have already seen. In 1866 he was elected bishop on the first ballot. His elevation from the pastorate to the episcopate had no visible effect on the childlike simplicity of his character, the humility of his spirit, or the intense directness of his preaching. It did not remove him from the people. He still preached at camp-meetings, held protracted services for his brethren, and still saw sinners powerfully convicted and gloriously converted under his preaching, as when he was a country boy-preacher in old Missouri. In spontaneous, fiery outbursts of natural elo-

quence, he has perhaps not had his equal in the Southern Church. In 1876 he made an episcopal visit to the China mission, and in 1877, on his way back to the West by the way of the East, he attended the British Wesleyan Conference as fraternal delegate of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. He was the author of several books, the best known of which is perhaps his book of travels, "To the East by the Way of the West." His smaller and earlier work entitled "The Work of Christ" is vigorous and thought-provoking. A short time after his death a contribution of one dollar was asked from each namesake of the beloved and lamented bishop for a mission school, and over seventeen hundred dollars were sent in.

Dr. Doggett was professor in Randolph-Macon College from 1842 to 1845. From 1850 to 1858 he was editor of the "Quarterly Review" of the church. At the time of his election to the episcopacy he was pastor of Centenary Church in Richmond, Va. He was a polished and dignified Virginia gentleman, a broad and versatile scholar, and a devout and earnest Christian. His sermons were models of homiletical architecture; his thought was masculine, and his style Ciceronian in its transparent clearness, its dignified simplicity, its fine antithesis, its swelling volume, and its periodic compactness. When the unction was upon him, as it often was, his eloquence was next to irresistible.

But the one of the four new bishops who exerted the widest influence and became most widely known was H. N. McTyeire. He had been a pastor and an editor. At the time of his election he was pastor in Montgomery, Ala.

Says one who knew him familiarly and for years:

> He was a pure man and an able preacher, a great bishop, and a wise, firm, impartial presiding officer, an ecclesiastical statesman, and the calm philosophical historian of Methodism. . . . In him joyous and sympathetic com-

munion with nature, with God, and his fellowman produced a thoroughly healthy spirit, which, free from abnormal and fantastic thinking, from false and sickly sentiment, from bookishness and pedantry, poured forth a strong limpid stream, which, through its whole course, refreshed and invigorated the Church of God, in which he was ordained a bishop. His sermons were always marked by great solemnity, relieved, however, by the genial play of humor, which bubbled up on the surface of some great theme as naturally as a spring bursts from the bosom of the earth. Not so leonine as Soule, . . . nor so overwhelming as Bascom, nor so mellifluous as Pierce, nor so ornate as Doggett, nor so rapturous as Kavanaugh, he yet possessed in singularly harmonious proportions the elements of a really great preacher. Much of his early preaching was to the negroes, of whom, for many years, he had pastoral charge. . . . His intense concern for the race knew no abatement with the increase of episcopal and university responsibilities. Strong in mind and body; bold to take up and firm to sustain the burden of duty; large in his sympathies and generous in his impulses; sprung from the people, loving them and loved by them; tenacious of his convictions and purposes; blessed with a rare simplicity of motive which was never confused by the enticements of the world or corrupted by the deceitfulness of riches; unswerving in his loyalty to Methodism—this man faithfully served the church of his love in his youth and early manhood, through the burden and heat of middle life; and as his sun crossed the meridian and began its descent of the western skies, he laid down his finished task at his Master's feet.[1]

The Missionary Society of the church was found to be $60,200 in debt, and the Publishing House was practically in ruins. The General Conference of 1866 "patched up these two wrecks and sent them forth to sink or swim. There was no capital and but little credit, no supply but much demand." Dr. A. H. Redford, of Kentucky, was elected Agent of the Publishing House, with no books to sell, no facilities for making books, and no suitable place for keeping them when made.

In the face of the ruin of their promising educational institutions, the General Conference of 1866 calmly set about the task of repairing it as far and as fast as possible. "We must," they say in their address to the church, "meet the emergency with an unfaltering purpose, and rise with determined might to the difficult yet hopeful task

[1] Tigert's "Fraternal Address," 1892, p. 30.

which lies before us." They even undertook to make provision for some new features in their educational work. They recommended and insisted upon the establishment of a Biblical Institute for the proper and special training of young preachers. And still further: realizing the changed conditions and their new relations and responsibilities to the colored people, and reasserting their claim to be the friend of this race—a claim vindicated by continuous and successful exertions made in their behalf in instructing and evangelizing them—by formal resolution they recommended to their people the establishment of *day-schools* for the education of colored children, and this notwithstanding their poverty and notwithstanding heavy burdens of their own. The bishops were authorized to form presiding elders' districts of colored charges, to appoint colored presiding elders, and to organize Annual Conferences of colored preachers.

However, out of 207,776 colored members in 1860 there now remained in the Southern Church only 48,742. The others had joined the two African churches, which up to this time had operated mainly in the North, or had gone to the Methodist Episcopal Church, whose representatives were everywhere to be found throughout the South.

Five new conferences were authorized by the General Conference of 1866: the South Georgia, the Columbia, the Northwest Texas, the Illinois, and the North Texas, all of which were organized the same or the following year.

The large attendance of delegates at the General Conference of 1866, the hopefulness and enthusiasm of its members, their earnest grapple with the problems before them, and their generous measures for the extension and the enlarged efficiency and usefulness of the church, chal-

lenged and revived the confidence of the people, and sounded the keynote of the quadrennium for renewed activity and lofty endeavor. Preachers and people everywhere responded, and once more, after a long, dark period of decimation, demoralization, and depression, the church went forward on her mission of evangelizing the masses within her borders, and providing, as much as in her lay, for the extension of her work into outlying lands.

The difficulties and embarrassments of her changed condition, misrepresentation and opposition from without and defections from within—all these were not enough to destroy her courage or to check her enthusiasm. On the contrary, they seemed to invigorate her spirit and stimulate her activities to an unwonted degree. The itinerant went forth again on his gracious errands, old circuit lines were restored and extended, new and larger churches were builded, parsonages were multiplied, schools and colleges were reopened, and the whole machinery of church work was in motion everywhere. The Lord seconded these efforts with his blessing, and in all places the tokens of his gracious presence attested that he had not forsaken his ancient heritage. Once more the decimated rolls of the church began to fill up, and there was a steady increase throughout the quadrennium. In 1866 the number of members had fallen to a little over half a million. In 1870 it had risen again to nearly six hundred thousand.

Within less than a year after the General Conference of 1866 the church was called to lament the death of their venerable and venerated Senior Superintendent, Bishop Joshua Soule. He was the last and a worthy member of the great episcopal triumvirate of American Methodism—Asbury, McKendree, Soule.

CHAPTER X.

THE GENERAL CONFERENCE OF 1870.

THE succeeding General Conference, held at Memphis in May, 1870, is noteworthy for several reasons. It was the first in which laymen participated as delegates. Indeed, with the exception of the Methodist Protestant Church, it was the first General Conference of the kind in the annals of Methodism. Of lay delegates there were one hundred and six, and of clerical, one hundred and twenty. The experiment proved eminently successful and satisfactory to all parties, even the most conservative and doubtful. The venerable Bishop Paine, in his address on the last day of the conference, said: "The inauguration of the system of lay delegation has worked admirably, confirming our conviction that the laity can aid greatly in managing the great interests of the church; and I hope our lay brethren will return home with the impression that they are not only welcome, but that they are felt to be an important element in our deliberations."

While this important measure, inaugurated in the Southern Church and under the leadership of her prominent men, showed their wise foresight and indicated courage to pioneer a forward movement, another measure, by them planned and adopted at this session, demonstrated that they were men who had a thorough acquaintance with the past constitutional history of Methodism, a profound knowledge of the necessity, nature, and ends of constitutional law, and of constitutional safeguards for the preven-

tion of hasty action or ill-advised legislation involving fundamental matters. In other words, while they had the courage to inaugurate wise forward movements without waiting for others to make the experiment or set the example, they had the wise caution and conservatism to set constitutional barriers and bulwarks against the possibility of lawless action or reckless legislation. The General Conference of 1808, which enacted the constitution, had left it defective in one important respect: it provided no way of determining whether an action or measure of the General Conference is or is not constitutional, is or is not contrary to the Restrictive Rules. The question was raised as far back as 1820. A resolution was passed making presiding elders elective by the Annual Conferences. Bishop McKendree expressed his decided conviction that this was a violation of the Third Restrictive Rule, and unconstitutional.

Mr. Soule, who had been elected bishop, declined to be ordained and resigned the office, holding the same views as Bishop McKendree.[1] The offensive resolution was suspended till the next General Conference, and a resolution was passed recommending to the Annual Conferences so to alter the Discipline that if a majority of the bishops judged a measure unconstitutional they should return it to the General Conference in three days, with their objections, and a majority of two thirds should then be required for its final passage. This resolution, however, was not concurred in by the Annual Conferences. The same fate, says Bishop McTyeire, met a similar effort four years later. He goes on to say: "This want of a constitutional test must be supplied sooner or later,—by the civil if not by the church courts." Joshua Soule had said in 1824, with equal truth and emphasis: "The General Conference

1 "Journal of the General Conference of 1820," pp. 236, 237.

is not the proper judge of the constitutionality of its own acts. If the General Conference be the sole judge of such questions, then there are no bounds to its power." And it has been forcibly said by another: "Should the General Conference at any time exceed its constitutional powers, the Annual Conferences have no protection and no redress; the bishops can only submit or resign; the church itself, should the guaranteed rights of the membership be invaded, has no remedy save that of revolution."

An effort was made at the General Conference of the Southern Church in 1854 to remedy this defect of the constitution, and to add to the constitution, as a part of itself, a constitutional test of the constitutionality of the acts of the General Conference. But the paragraph making provision for a veto power of the bishops was only passed by a majority vote of the General Conference, and was never submitted to the Annual Conferences, which omission rendered the *proviso* itself unconstitutional and void. For that reason it was stricken out of the Discipline by the General Conference of 1870.[1] At the same time, and by the same General Conference, this defect in the constitution was supplied. The following amendment to the constitution was made in the regular constitutional way—that is, by a General Conference majority of two thirds, confirmed by a three-fourths vote of the Annual Conferences; in this case, by a General Conference majority of 160 yeas to 4 nays, and a concurrent vote of the Annual Conferences of 2024 yeas to 9 nays:

Provided, That when any rule or regulation is adopted by the General Conference which in the opinion of the bishops is unconstitutional, the bishops may present to the conference which passed such rule or regulation their objections thereto, with their reasons in writing; and then if the General Conference shall by a two-thirds vote adhere to its action on said rule or regula-

[1] "Journal of the General Conference of 1870," pp. 287, 331.

tion, it shall take the course prescribed for altering a Restrictive Rule; and if thus passed upon affirmatively, the bishops shall announce that such rule or regulation takes effect from that time.

Viewed from the standpoint of its organic connectionalism, this jealous care of the constitution is the distinguishing peculiarity of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and one of its crowning glories.

The General Conference of 1866 directed that, if the colored membership desired it, the bishops, if and when their godly judgment approved, should organize them into an independent ecclesiastical body. In the interval between 1866 and 1870 the bishops formed several Annual Conferences composed of colored preachers. That experiment proved satisfactory. The colored preachers, as the bishops declare, showed diligence as well as fidelity. A very general and earnest desire was expressed by the colored preachers and members for an independent church organization. They declared that they believed it would be best for both white and colored people to have separate churches and schools, and that it would promote the peace and prosperity of both the white and the colored churches. The preachers of the colored conferences requested the General Conference of 1870 to appoint a commission of five to confer with delegates of their own, with a view to the consummation of an independent organization.[1] This was accordingly done, and the colored conferences, eight in number, were erected into a distinct ecclesiastical organization in December, 1870. Bishop Paine and Bishop McTyeire presided at the conventional General Conference at Jackson, Tenn., and ordained two bishops of their own election, W. H. Miles and R. H. Vanderhorst, a wise and friendly solution of the vexed question of colored bishops.

1 See article by Bishop Holsey in "Independent," March 5, 1891.

The name of their church, chosen by themselves, was "The Colored Methodist Episcopal Church." All the churches and church property held by the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, for the use of their colored membership, were turned over to the properly constituted authorities of the new church. The total value of this church property is estimated at $1,000,000.[1] Moreover, the members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, have, in many cases, given them church-lots and helped them to build houses for religious worship. A school for the education of the teachers and preachers of this colored church was founded some years ago by Southern Methodists at Augusta, Ga., one man giving $25,000; and this school is regularly supported by assessments laid upon all the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South; while they contribute regularly also to the support of the Normal and Theological Institute of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church at Jackson, Tenn.

One peculiarity of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church is that "it stands aloof from politics."[2] One rule of their Discipline is that their church-houses shall not be used for political speeches and meetings. "While exercising their rights as citizens, they endeavor to keep their religious assemblies free from that complication with political parties which has been so damaging to the spiritual interests of the colored people." They have over 3000 churches, over 1200 traveling preachers, 2500 local preachers, about 140,000 members, and 22 Annual Conferences, presided over by 4 bishops.

At the General Conference of 1870, the two mission boards, foreign and domestic, were consolidated, and Dr. John B. McFerrin was made secretary of the new board.

[1] Rev. Dr. R. A. Young tells me it was $1,500,000.
[2] See the article of Bishop Holsey cited above.

Under his able and efficient management, in less than two years the old debt was liquidated, and the church was relieved of a heavy burden which for years had weighed her down and impeded her missionary movements.[1]

The expansion of the work of the church in the home field and its extension into outlying territory called for new conferences, and six were provided for in the General Conference of 1870. These were organized in the same or the following year: the North Alabama, the Los Angeles, the Southwest Missouri, the North Mississippi, the White River, and the Western.

John C. Keener was elected bishop, and still survives as the Senior Bishop of the church. Thomas O. Summers was elected editor of the "Nashville Christian Advocate." A proposition was made to the General Conference by its editor, the distinguished Dr. A. T. Bledsoe, a local preacher, to adopt the "Southern Review"; and it was accepted on certain express conditions, one of which was the elimination of all party politics and the substitution of a theological department.[2] Dr. Bledsoe accepted the conditions, and the "Review," which through several years was conducted with an ability that placed it in the very front rank of similar periodicals, became the "Quarterly Review of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South." "There are not a few," says Dr. W. F. Tillett, "who regard it as the ablest periodical of its kind that has ever been published in this country, and Dr. Bledsoe will always be known as one of the strongest intellects, clearest thinkers, and ablest writers that this country has ever produced."[3]

The bishops issued a pastoral address at the opening of this General Conference, and, by special request of the

1 "Journal of the General Conference of 1870," pp. 328, 329.
2 *Ibid.*, pp. 323, 324.
3 "Southern Methodist Quarterly Review," July, 1893.

conference, another near its close, on the particular subject of "Worldly Amusements." While the whole of their pastoral address is an earnest, thoughtful, and weighty document, one paragraph is especially interesting at the present time, as it shows what were the views and convictions of the chief pastors of the church concerning the Methodist doctrine and experience of perfect love. They say.

In immediate connection with the spiritual welfare of the church, the great and only effectual remedy for most, if not all, our deficiencies as a church people, is an increase of inward genuine Scriptural holiness. We fear that the doctrine of perfect love which casts out fear and purifies the heart and is the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ, as taught in the Bible, and explained and enforced in our standards as a distinct and practicable attainment, is too much overlooked and neglected. This was a paramount theme in the discourses of our fathers, and alike in their private conversations as in their public ministrations, they urged religious people to go on to this perfection of sanctifying love. The revivals which followed their ministry were not superficial or ephemeral. Their genuineness and power were proved by the holy lives and triumphant deaths of the converts. If we would be like them in power and usefulness, we must resemble them in holy consecration. Nothing is so much needed at the present time throughout all these lands, as a general and powerful revival of Scriptural holiness.

(Signed) J. O. ANDREW, W. M. WIGHTMAN,
R. PAINE, E. M. MARVIN,
G. F. PIERCE, D. S. DOGGETT,
H. H. KAVANAUGH, H. N. MCTYEIRE.[1]

Nothing could be more explicit or emphatic than their utterances on the subject of worldly amusements. They say:

Nothing less than a genuine godliness in the power of its regenerating influence can meet the necessities of the case. So powerful are the fascinations of pleasure, so abounding is iniquity, in high places and in low, that the love of many has waxed cold. Young persons in good society who may desire to be religious are especially open to danger from the tone of surrounding fashionable society and from the plausibilities of the worldly spirit. But there can be no compromise here. There can be no inward experience of

[1] "Journal of the General Conference of 1870," p. 164.

grace, no valid religion of the heart, which is not preceded by a full, unreserved, irrevocable commitment to the Lord Jesus. This commitment involves self-denial, taking up the cross and following Christ. A religion of mere culture, of amiabilities and esthetic tastes, of sentiment, opinion, and ceremony, may readily allow participation in dancing and revelry, in theatrical and operatic and circus exhibitions, and in the gambling operations of the turf. But the religion which is a divine life in the soul of Christ's true disciple heeds the voice of conscience and feels the powers of the world to come. It confers the dignity of holiness, the strength of self-denial, the glad freedom of a spirit rejoicing in the right and good. Such a religion needs not, desires not, allows not participation in worldly pleasures, in diversions which, however sanctioned by fashion, are felt and known to be wrong by every truly awakened heart. Its spiritual discernment is not deceived by well-dressed plausibilities, by refinements in taste, by respectabilities in social position. It has put on the Lord Jesus, and made no provision for the flesh to fulfill the lusts thereof.

In conclusion, we beg to suggest that the pastors of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, give heed to these things in the administration of discipline. The Book of Discipline provides not only against crimes and gross immoralities, but there is a process laid down for cases of "imprudent conduct" as well as for indulging sinful tempers and words. We are persuaded that where that process is faithfully, firmly, but kindly followed, these growing evils will be arrested.

Wise words of wise men, to which the church and ministry would do well to take heed in these days and always. These utterances met with a hearty reception and response upon the part of the ministers composing the General Conference, and gave the watchword to the militant hosts of the church for the ensuing quadrennial period. In general, the spiritual tone and quality of a religious movement or body does not rise above that of its accepted and recognized leaders. The words of the bishops in their pastoral addresses struck a high spiritual tone, and invited the ministry and the church to strive after high and worthy levels of Christian experience and living. The following years were marked by general and generous revivals of religion. There was a large ingathering of souls. By the time of the next quadrennial convocation there was an increase of 126,299 members, the largest the church had

ever yet known within the same period. And this, notwithstanding it had relinquished not less than 60,000 of its members for the establishment of the Colored Methodist Church in the latter part of 1870, as already related. But after the surrender of these 60,000 there was at the roll-call of the church in 1874 a grand total of 712,717 members. Two new conferences were provided for to meet the exigencies of the advancing work—the German Mission Conference in Texas and the Denver in the West.

In 1871 Bishop Andrew died, at the age of seventy-seven. He was to the last a great and good man. His last words were: "God bless you all! Victory! victory!"

In 1873 Bishop Early died, at Lynchburg, Va. Though in the earlier part of his episcopal career he had given some cause of dissatisfaction on account of his peremptory manner and arbitrary rulings, and was seriously complained of at the General Conference of 1858, after that time he discharged the delicate duties of that eminent office with acceptability, and became greatly beloved in the church for his Christian virtues and his long and varied service. "He gave the days of the years of his youth and maturity to the active service of the church, and then, amid the infirmities of old age, illustrated the grace of God by patient submission and the triumph of faith and hope."

CHAPTER XI.

LEADING EVENTS FROM 1874 TO 1894.

At the General Conference of 1874, held in Louisville, Ky., regularly appointed fraternal delegates from the Methodist Episcopal Church appeared for the first time. Initiatory movements, however, in the direction of fraternity had preceded this. The rejected fraternal delegate of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1848, had said:

> You will regard this communication as final on the part of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. She can never renew the offer of fraternal relations between the two great bodies of Wesleyan Methodists in the United States. But the proposition can be renewed at any time by the Methodist Episcopal Church. And if ever made upon the basis of the Plan of Separation, as adopted by the General Conference of 1844, the Church, South, will cordially entertain the proposition.

This action of their delegate was approved by the General Conference of 1850. Here the matter rested until May, 1869, when the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church invited the bishops of the Southern Church to confer with them "on the propriety, practicability, and methods of reunion." The Southern bishops in reply invited the attention of their Northern brethren to a subject having precedence of that of reunion, namely, the cultivation of fraternal relations. Accordingly, the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church at its session in Brooklyn in 1872 took the following action:

To place ourselves in the truly fraternal relations toward our Southern brethren which the sentiments of our people demand, and to prepare the way for the opening of formal fraternity with them; it is hereby

Resolved, That this General Conference will appoint a delegation, consisting of two ministers and one layman, to convey our fraternal greetings to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, at its next ensuing session.

On Friday, the eighth day of the session of the General Conference of 1874, this delegation, consisting of the Rev. Dr. Albert S. Hunt, the Rev. Dr. Charles H. Fowler, and Gen. Clinton B. Fisk, having announced their presence, were formally received. Their addresses were able, eloquent, courteous, and fraternal. Says the journal: "Their utterances warmed our hearts. Their touching allusions to the common heritage of Methodist history, to our oneness of doctrine, polity, and usage, and their calling to mind the great work in which we are both engaged for the extension of the kingdom of their Lord and ours, stirred within us precious memories." The General Conference by resolution requested the bishops to appoint a delegation of two ministers and one layman to bear the Christian salutations of the Southern Church to the next session of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church;[1] and going a step further, they passed a resolution, "That in order to remove all obstacles to formal fraternity between the two churches, our College of Bishops is authorized to appoint a commission, consisting of three ministers and two laymen, to meet a similar commission authorized by the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and to adjust all existing difficulties." In accordance with this resolution the College of Bishops, at their annual meeting in May, 1875, appointed the five commissioners. They were the Rev. Dr. (now Bishop) R. K. Hargrove, the Rev. Dr. Edward H. Myers, the

[1] These were Lovick Pierce, J. A. Duncan, and L. C. Garland.

Rev. Dr. Thomas M. Finney, and the Hon. Trusten Polk, of Missouri, and Hon. David Clopton, of Alabama. In 1876 the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church authorized and the bishops appointed a similar commission, consisting of the Rev. Dr. (now Bishop) John P. Newman, the Rev. Dr. M. D'C. Crawford, the Rev. Dr. E. Q. Fuller, Gen. Clinton B. Fisk, and Hon. E. L. Fancher. The commissioners of the two churches met in joint session at Cape May, N. J., August 17, 1876. After a session of six days, characterized by devout supplication for the divine blessing, a due appreciation of the pending issue, and the exercise of becoming Christian candor, they adopted with entire unanimity, as the basis of adjustment and fraternal reconciliation, the following:

Declaration and Basis of Fraternity.

Status of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and their Coördinate Relations as Legitimate Branches of Episcopal Methodism.

Each of said churches is a legitimate branch of Episcopal Methodism in the United States, having a common origin in the Methodist Episcopal Church organized in 1784; and since the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, was consummated in 1845, by the voluntary exercise of the right of the Southern Annual Conferences, ministers, and members, to adhere to that communion, it has been an evangelical church, reared on Scriptural foundations; and her ministers and members, with those of the Methodist Episcopal Church, have constituted one Methodist family, though in distinct ecclesiastical connections.

It was next incumbent on us to consider the questions concerning conflicting claims to church property, and some special cases that could not conveniently be referred to the operation of a general rule. There were two principal questions to be considered with regard to the church property in dispute between local societies of the two churches:

1. As to the legal ownership of said property.

2. As to whether it will consist with strict equity, or promote Christian harmony or the cause of religion, to dispossess those societies now using church property which was originally intended for their use and occupancy, and of which they have acquired possession, though they may have lost legal title to it by their transfer from the one church to the other.

We have considered the papers in all cases that have been brought to our notice. These arose in the following States: Virginia, West Virginia, Maryland, Tennessee, Louisiana, North Carolina, and South Carolina. In respect of some of these cases, we have given particular directions; but for all other cases the Joint Commission unanimously adopted the following:

RULES FOR THE ADJUSTMENT OF ADVERSE CLAIMS TO CHURCH PROPERTY.

RULE I. In cases not adjudicated by the Joint Commission, any society of either church, constituted according to its Discipline, now occupying the church property, shall remain in possession thereof; provided that where there is now, in the same place, a society of more members attached to the other church, and which has hitherto claimed the use of the property, the latter shall be entitled to possession.

RULE II. Forasmuch as we have no power to annul decisions respecting church property made by the State courts, the Joint Commission ordain in respect thereof:

1. In cases in which such a decision has been made, or in which there exists an agreement, the same shall be carried out in good faith.

2. In communities where there are two societies—one belonging to the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the other to the Methodist Episcopal Church, South—which have adversely claimed the church property, it is recommended that, without delay, they amicably compose their differences irrespective of the strict legal title, and settle the same according to Christian principles, the equities of the particular case, and, so far as practicable, according to the principle of the foregoing rule. But if such settlement cannot be speedily made, then the question shall be referred for an equitable decision to three arbitrators, one to be chosen by each claimant from their respective societies; and the two thus chosen shall select a third person not connected with either of said churches, and the decision of any two of them shall be final.

3. In communities in which there is but one society, Rule I. shall be faithfully observed in the interest of peace and fraternity.

RULE III. Whenever necessary to carry the aforegoing rules into effect, the legal title to the church property shall be accordingly transferred.

RULE IV. These rules shall take effect immediately.

This was understood to be authoritative and final. The year following, and upon the acceptance and basis of this Cape May settlement, the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church appointed the Rev. Dr. Cyrus D. Foss and the Hon. Wm. Cumback as fraternal delegates to the session of the General Conference of the Southern Church at

Atlanta in 1878. The addresses of these distinguished visitors were characterized by a truly fraternal spirit, and were received with great applause. Responses were made by the venerable Lovick Pierce, then in his ninety-fourth year, and by Bishop Paine, who at the time was presiding. "The whole scene was morally sublime, and at its close the conference spontaneously arose and sang the doxology."[1]

At the General Conference of 1874 the first fraternal address of the British Wesleyan Conference to the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, was received. It was duly acknowledged and responded to.[2]

In 1862 the Publishing House, under the management of Dr. McFerrin, was just getting rid of incumbrances and embarrassments and entering upon a career of prosperity and usefulness, when it was seized by the Federal troops. During the remainder of the war it was used as a United States printing-office. Owing to the damage of the buildings and the destruction of machinery during this period, and the debt incurred in rebuilding after a destructive fire, its condition was such that at the General Conference of 1878 its liabilities were found to be about $125,000 in excess of its total assets. It was declared insolvent. The Book Committee was authorized by the General Conference to dispose of machinery, fixtures, furniture, and real estate, if they deemed it best, in order to meet the obligations of the house. The only hope was to rescue the credit and save the good name of the church. All felt that the debt must be paid. But how? What could be done? The same thought occurred simultaneously to many: put McFerrin back as Book Agent; the people all know him and believe in him; if any man can save the

[1] "Journal of the General Conference of 1878," p. 117.
[2] "Journal of the General Conference of 1874," pp. 375–77.

wreck, he can. But he held back. He was too old for such a burden and such a task. (His age was seventy-one.) Still the conviction was so general in favor of his election that he dared not peremptorily decline. When the result of the ballot was announced, the strong old man wept.[1]

A Book Committee was selected to reinforce and support Dr. McFerrin, consisting of some of the very ablest business men in the whole South. Among these wise counselors a scheme was devised for bonding the enormous debt of $356,843, and, after full deliberation and consultation, was adopted. But to sell these bonds was the next thing, and not an easy thing to do. The depressed condition of the institution, the disheartened state of the church, and the many opportunities for profitable investment in other and safer enterprises in the South, made it very improbable that men of means would be willing to buy McFerrin's four-percents. The details of the scheme were explained through the church papers, and the members were urged to rally with their subscriptions. Nashville Methodists, including the members of the Book Committee and the Agent, gave the movement a liberal start, and when the time came for the autumn conferences, Dr. McFerrin was ready to start out on his great bond campaign.[2] Wherever he went, preachers and people were stirred by his appeals; confidence returned by degrees; the bonds were taken more and more freely; confidence rose into enthusiasm; despair gave way to renewed hope, and hope to certainty, that the Publishing House would be saved, the honor and good name of the church maintained; and a grand demonstration was made of the denominational fealty and latent power of the Southern Methodist people. To the whole church belongs the honor of this achieve-

[1] Fitzgerald's "Life of McFerrin," p. 360.
[2] Dr. R. A. Young assisted him in this important work.

ment; but to McFerrin's wonderful hold upon the confidence and affection of the church and his masterful leadership, more than to what was done by any other man, must this deliverance be ascribed.[1]

At the General Conference of 1878 Dr. A. W. Wilson was elected missionary secretary, and served with great ability and efficiency during the quadrennium. Dr. O. P. Fitzgerald was elected editor of the "Nashville Christian Advocate," and during the twelve years of his incumbency made one of the brightest, breeziest, and most popular religious weeklies in the nation. One new conference was provided for by the General Conference of 1878, the Montana, and was organized in September, 1879.

When the grand total of the membership was reckoned up, it was found to be only a little less than 800,000, or, in exact figures, 798,862.

Through the years following, the progress of the church was steady and continuous, and her work was rapidly developing and extending in every direction. Her activities were continually multiplied. Increasing thousands were annually gathered within her folds. Her educational zeal and enterprise received fresh accessions, and her educational institutions were growing in number and efficiency. In April, 1874, the cornerstone of the great Vanderbilt University was laid with impressive ceremonies amid universal rejoicings. In 1875 her halls were opened for the reception of students. Students came and have been coming in increasing numbers and with increasing enthusiasm through all the intervening years. In every way this noble institution has grown, until to-day it is recognized as perhaps the leading institution of learning in the South, and is second to but few in the nation.

The missionary spirit of the church was much quickened

[1] Fitzgerald's "Life of McFerrin," p. 367.

and her missionary activities greatly increased during these years, as we shall see in a later chapter. At no previous time did the church enjoy richer evidences of the divine favor or possess in a greater degree the elements of prosperity and power. Meanwhile her ranks were filling up with young men of promise to take the place of the veterans who were dropping out of the ranks. And the veterans were dropping out. The church lost one of her best and ablest men for every year of the quadrennium 1878–82.

In 1880 Bishop Doggett, a princely man, and a prince among preachers, after serving his generation by the will of God, died in peace, and was laid to rest in Hollywood Cemetery in Richmond, Va.

In February, 1882, just before the meeting of the General Conference, Bishop Wightman, who, by the will of God, had served two generations, fell asleep and was gathered to his fathers.

On the first day of the General Conference of 1882, in Nashville, the Senior Superintendent, Bishop Paine, made an affecting address to his brethren, and asked that, "worn down by age and infirmities, he might be permitted to retire from active service." For sixty-four years he had been an effective traveling preacher; for thirty-six years an efficient general superintendent. But the limit now was reached. He was able to bear the burden and do the work no longer. On May 3, 1882, at the age of eighty-three, he was retired from active service. On May 22d, unable to attend further upon the session of the General Conference, he departed to his home in Mississippi. On the 19th of October following he departed for his home beyond the stars.

On the opening day of the General Conference of 1882, Wednesday, May 3d, Dr. Thomas O. Summers was, for the eighth time, elected secretary of that body. On Saturday

morning, May 6th, immediately after the opening, the presiding bishop announced that Dr. Summers was dead. The prayer of his favorite hymn was literally fulfilled:

> Oh, that without a lingering groan
> I may the welcome word receive,
> My body with my charge lay down,
> And cease, at once, to work and live.

Dr. Summers was a born Englishman. His early advantages were not great. He was a man of prodigious labor, however, and he came to be a man of extraordinary attainments and cyclopedic knowledge. He was positive in his convictions, dogmatic in his utterances, blunt in his manner; but he was a true and noble man and a loving-hearted Christian.

He was for many years the editor of the "Nashville Christian Advocate," and for some time the editor of the "Southern Methodist Quarterly Review." Only a few of the older men in the church can remember the time when he was not Book Editor. He was himself the author of several books, the best known of which are his Commentaries on the New Testament books from Matthew to Romans, and his able and learned work on Systematic Theology, in two noble octavo volumes. At the time of his death he was dean of the theological department of Vanderbilt University and Professor of Systematic Theology. As a preacher his sermons were too dull, and as an editor his articles were too heavy, to be popular. Yet for his work and his personal character he had come to be so beloved that his death fell with the weight of a personal bereavement upon the whole church. His biography has been well written by Dr. (now Bishop) Fitzgerald, his successor in the editorship of the "Advocate."

The most important action of the General Conference

of 1882 was the creation of the Board of Church Extension and the election of the clear-headed and indefatigable Dr. David Morton as secretary and general superintendent. Under the phenomenally successful management of this man "with a telescopic mind and a microscopic eye," this arm of church work has developed an efficiency and usefulness which far exceed the expectations of its most sanguine friends and supporters. The General Board was fully organized and its plans formulated at a meeting held in Louisville, Ky., in June, 1882. Bylaws were adopted, a plan of campaign was mapped out, and the first annual assessment of $50,000 was made. In the eleven years since the organization of the Board of Church Extension the total receipts have been considerably over $700,000; and the last annual report shows that the board has built, helped to build, or otherwise aided one church for each week-day and two for each Sunday in the year. The total number of churches built or aided by the board since 1882 is 2510. The only serious problem which the church has in connection with this work is to find a man to fill Dr. Morton's place and do his work, when age or infirmity shall have rendered him incapable of further service.

The General Conference of 1882 authorized the creation of two new conferences, the Central Mexico Mission Conference and the Mexican Border Mission Conference, which were not long afterward organized, the one by Bishop Keener, the other by Bishop McTyeire.

The unprecedented number of five bishops was elected: A. W. Wilson, Linus Parker, A. G. Haygood, John C. Granbery, and Robert K. Hargrove (though Dr. Haygood declined). Dr. Robt. A. Young was elected missionary secretary.

The fraternal message of the Methodist Episcopal Church to the General Conference of 1882 was borne by the genial and gentle, but able and eloquent Dr. Henry Bascom

Ridgaway, and the glowing words of this genuinely fraternal man made and left a delightful impression upon those who were present, and upon the whole church.

The first Ecumenical Conference of the Methodisms of the world was held in London in 1881. In this memorable gathering the Southern Methodist Church was fully and worthily represented. According to the English papers, that church furnished two of the three American representatives who made a distinct personal impression. These were the inimitable and irresistible Dr. John B. McFerrin and the weighty and dignified Bishop McTyeire, with his massive head and face and thought, his slow, deliberate speech, his fog-horn voice, and his unepiscopal, unconventional, cutaway coat.

In the General Conference of the Southern Church in 1878 a movement was initiated looking to a centenary celebration of the organization of American Methodism. No fact in the history of American Christianity can be considered of equal importance with that which took place in an humble chapel in Baltimore in December, 1784. It was therefore worthy of commemoration by the Methodists of a hundred years after. And as that far-reaching event took place upon Southern territory, it was fitting that the centenary movement should originate in the Southern division of Methodism. Accordingly, the bishops of the Southern Church were requested in behalf of the General Conference to open a correspondence on the subject with the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the presidents of the several conferences in Canada, and of all other Methodist bodies on the continent, and these bishops and presidents in conjunction were to arrange and mature a suitable program for a fitting celebration of the centenary of the organization of American Methodism. The suggestion was concurred in by the other branches of Methodism in the country. The arrangements for the part

which the Southern Church was to take were completed in the General Conference of 1882. The celebration was duly observed in December, 1884, in the city of Baltimore by a great gathering of representatives of all the Methodist bodies, white and colored, in America. In the exuberance of fraternal feeling and the tide of spiritual emotion it surpassed any inter-Methodistic gathering that has been held before or since. It was a veritable love-feast, not of American Methodists only, but of American Methodisms. Nor was it an enthusiasm of mere emotion, but of genuine gratitude and practical benevolence. The centenary year was a season of generous giving upon the part of Methodists everywhere. The special centennial offerings of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, for the year 1884 amounted to $1,382,771.[1]

In the midst of the activity and enthusiasm of the centenary year the church was in mourning for the death of two of her most honored and best beloved bishops. These were H. H. Kavanaugh, of Kentucky, and George F. Pierce, of Georgia.

They were both members of the General Conference of 1844 and of every succeeding one down to 1854, when they were elected to the episcopal office. At the time of his death Bishop Kavanaugh was eighty-two years of age and had been a bishop thirty years; Bishop Pierce was seventy-three years of age, and had been a bishop for thirty years.

In physique, Bishop Kavanaugh was below the ordinary stature; but what was lacking in length was made up in breadth and bulk. His neck was short, his head massive, his hair short and stiff. His face, though not handsome, was radiant with imperturbable good-humor. In spirit

[1] It was in the centenary year that Bishop McTyeire published his noble work on "The History of Methodism."

and manner he was as simple and transparent as a little child. As a preacher he was unequal. There were times when his eloquence was rapturous, overwhelming. But depending, as he did, on the occasion for inspiration, he sometimes limped in preaching. Nevertheless, his great power as a preacher gained for him the title of "the old man eloquent." As a presiding officer, he was amiable to laxity. It is even said that on one or two occasions he took a little nap while presiding in General Conference. But he was so beloved that everybody, except perhaps Bishop Keener, excused and enjoyed these amiable small faults of the noble old man.

Bishop Pierce, of Georgia, son of Lovick Pierce, was every way a marvelous man. His form was majestic. He bore himself like a king. His eye was black and lustrous. His cheek glowed with the rosy hue of health. His every movement was grace. His voice was clear and mellow; its highest tones were musical and sympathetic. His style was direct, his metaphors novel and striking, his illustrations pertinent and persuasive, and his pathos often kindled to a heat of rapture under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. Whether before the most cultured audience or the plainest, he was alike master. He preached in a metropolitan church with all the ease with which he preached to a congregation of negro slaves, and he preached to the slaves with as much beauty and pathos and power as to the great men and women of the earth.[1] I have heard Beecher and Talmage and Hall and Taylor and Simpson and Spurgeon and Liddon and Farrar and Punshon and Parker; but I was never so moved, or saw people so moved, by the preaching of any man as by that of George F. Pierce, of Georgia.

In the next year (1885) occurred the death of one of the younger bishops, Linus Parker, of Louisiana. He had

[1] See Smith's "Life of Bishop Pierce."

filled the episcopal office with acceptability for three years. The death of three bishops within less than a year made it necessary for the General Conference of 1886 to elect others. Accordingly four were elected and ordained at the session in Richmond: W. W. Duncan, Charles B. Galloway, E. R. Hendrix, and Joseph S. Key.

It is one of the peculiarities and one of the excellencies of the Southern Methodist Church that it avoids all connection with politics. This very virtue has, however, sometimes been misunderstood and misinterpreted, and has given occasion for the charge that the Southern Church shrinks from committing herself on great social and moral questions and from taking part in great social and moral movements. If any denial of that charge were necessary, the action of the General Conference of 1886 on two of the most vital moral issues of the day would be a sufficient refutation.

Their deliverance on the subject of temperance and prohibition speaks for itself:

We rejoice in the widespread and unprecedented interest, both in the church and out of it, in behalf of temperance and prohibitory law. The public has awakened to the necessity of both legal and moral suasion to control the great evils stimulated and fostered by the liquor traffic. We recognize in the license system a sin against society. Its essential immorality cannot be affected by the question whether the license be high or low. The effectual prohibition of the manufacture, sale, and use of intoxicating liquors would be emancipation from the greatest curse that now afflicts our race. The total removal of the cause of intemperance is the only remedy. This is the greatest moral question now before our people. The fact that the people of the United States spend for strong drink $900,000,000 annually is not the most important aspect of the subject, but the fact that it is the enemy of the church, the source of crime, the cause of poverty and suffering, wretchedness and death, and that its readiest victims are our young men, thousands of whom are every year swept by it into dissipation, dishonor, debauchery, death, and damnation. We cannot withhold our emphatic deliverance on the subject, especially in view of the prevailing agitation of the question of prohibition. Therefore be it

Resolved, That the General Conference of the M. E. Church, South, is op-

posed to the manufacture, sale, and use of intoxicating liquors, except for medicinal and mechanical purposes, and that we will continue to agitate the subject of prohibition as a great moral question, and will strive, with all good citizens and by all proper and honorable means, to banish the horrible curse from our beloved church and country.

Resolved, That the time has now come when the church, through its press and pulpit, its individual and organized agencies, should speak out in strong language and stronger action in favor of the total removal of this great evil.[1]

The General Conference recommended that the Sunday-school editor statedly provide for a Scripture lesson on temperance, and that those in charge of schools or colleges controlled or indorsed by the church, see that the children and youth are properly instructed touching the effect of alcoholic stimulants on the human system.

The manufacture or sale of intoxicating liquors upon the part of church-members is absolutely forbidden. The law is explicit and emphatic: "If any preacher or member shall engage in the manufacture or sale of intoxicating liquors to be used as a beverage, let the Discipline be administered as in cases of *immorality*."[2]

The other action of the General Conference of 1886 referred to above, was upon the subject of divorce. After a long and strong preamble it was

"*Resolved*, That no minister of the M. E. Church, South, knowingly, upon due inquiry, shall solemnize the marriage of any person who has a divorced wife or husband still living."[3]

The increase of the membership of the church during the quadrennium ending in 1886 was larger than it had ever been during any similar period in its history. Nearly 200,000 members had been added in that time, and the grand total rose in the year 1886 to 1,066,377.

The eleventh and last General Conference was held in

[1] "Journal of the General Conference of 1886," pp. 198, 199.
[2] "Discipline of the M. E. Church, South," p. 129.
[3] "Journal of the General Conference of 1886," p. 233.

Centenary Church in the city of St. Louis in May, 1890, just forty years from the time when the second General Conference was held in the same city and the same church (in 1850). The number of delegates in attendance was 294. Resolutions on worldliness were unanimously adopted, explicitly condemning "theater-going, dancing, card-playing, and the like, as contrary to the spirit of Christianity and violative of the General Rules and moral discipline of the church, as also of the vows of our church-members."[1] A committee of fifteen was appointed to consider and report on the "state of the church." Their report is a strong, clear, and ringing document, and but for its length and the limitations of our space would deserve a place in these pages. It is given in full in the Discipline of 1890.

On the subject of temperance they vigorously declare and resolve that "voluntary total abstinence from all intoxicants is the true ground of personal temperance, and complete legal prohibition of the traffic the duty of government."[2]

The phenomenal advance made during the preceding period of four years, in all departments of church work, is indicated by the provisions made by the General Conference for the increased efficiency of all the coördinated agencies of the church. Two additional secretaries of the Board of Missions were provided for and elected. An additional secretary for the Board of Church Extension was authorized. An assistant Book Agent, an assistant editor of the "Christian Advocate," and an assistant Sunday-school editor were elected by the Conference. The Book Agents were authorized to publish, as one of the general organs of the church, the "Pacific Methodist Advocate" at San Francisco. The Epworth League was

[1] See Discipline, edition of 1890, p. 391.
[2] "Journal of General Conference of 1890," p. 212.

adopted by the General Conference and provision made for establishing leagues throughout the church. Four new conferences were constituted and organized in the year 1890–91, the Western North Carolina, the East Columbia, the New Mexico, and the Northwest Mexican Mission. The China Mission and the Brazil Mission had been erected into conferences in 1886, and organized as conferences, the one in 1886, the other in 1887. The church has now forty-three Annual Conferences. The statistics for the year 1890 were: traveling preachers, 5042; local preachers, 6366; white and Indian members, 1,206,611; colored members, 534; and altogether, 1,218,561.

A notable incident of the General Conference of 1890 was the reception and address of the Rev. David J. Waller, the first fraternal delegate of the British Wesleyan Conference to the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Mr. Waller, both by his personal bearing and his instructive and courteous address, produced an exceedingly favorable impression.

At the General Conference of 1890, A. G. Haygood and D. P. Fitzgerald were elected bishops.

The quadrennium was marked by the death of two of the very foremost men of the church. In May, 1887, Dr. McFerrin died, and the funeral sermon was preached by Bishop McTyeire, who, in less than two years after, followed his friend to the undiscovered country.

Bishop McTyeire is buried along with Bishop McKendree and Bishop Soule on the campus of Vanderbilt University. His fitting epitaph is, "He was a leader of men and a lover of children."

CHAPTER XII.

THE MISSIONS OF THE CHURCH.

1. *Missions to the Negroes.*

Up to the outbreak of the war in 1861 the mission work of the Southern Church was principally confined to the slave population of the South. The Southern Methodists recognized this as a vast opportunity, and to this work they felt themselves specially called. For the most part, the same pastor preached the gospel to master and slave, in the same church, as parts of one congregation. The gallery, or some other portion of the church, was set apart for the slaves. In addition to this, the pastor who preached to all together in the forenoon of Sunday would preach to the slaves from the same pulpit in the afternoon. When special services were held for the colored people, they occupied the body of the church, while the white people who attended were seated in that part of the church usually assigned to the negroes.[1] One of the early reports of the Board of Missions of one of the Southern conferences has these words: "The gospel is the same for all men, and to enjoy its privileges in common promotes good-will." Consequently it was declared to be the duty of all congregations to supply necessary and suitable accommodations for the colored people, "in order that none of them might make such neglect a plea for staying away from public worship." If a separate building was provided for them,

[1] See Dr. John's "Handbook of Methodist Missions," p.. 83, and McTyeire's "History of Methodism," p. 584.

as was sometimes the case, the negro congregation was an appendage to the white, the pastor usually preaching once on Sunday for them, holding official meetings with their leaders, exhorters, and preachers, and administering discipline.

But large numbers of the slaves were isolated on the rice, sugar, and cotton plantations, especially in the further South. The regular ministry did not reach these, inhabiting, as they did, a distant and malarial region in which but few white people were found. Attempts had been made as early as 1809 to give the gospel to some of these remote plantation communities. In that year the South Carolina Conference had sent out two missionaries, James H. Mellard to the slaves on the Savannah River, and James E. Glenn[1] to those on the Santee. But there were so many obstacles in the way that the work was soon given up. The attitude of the Methodists and the Methodist General Conferences on the subject of slavery gave rise to suspicions and to opposition upon the part of the planters, and access to their slaves was denied. Later, however, when the preachers had come to see the necessity of adjusting themselves to the situation and the legislation of the General Conference was toned down, as we have related in Chapter I., the work was taken up again. In 1828, through the efforts of a pious lady, a large planter gave his consent that a Methodist preacher should work among his slaves. This was the Rev. George W. Moore. He was not regularly appointed by the conference. But this did not deter him from preaching to these darkened souls

[1] "It was Mr. Glenn who received into his home at Cokesbury a young Vermonter going South in 1821 with shattered health and unsettled religious principles. This young Northerner was converted and developed in the South. He became first president of Randolph-Macon College in Virginia, and died while president of Wesleyan University in Connecticut. No man had more to do with shaping the life of Stephen Olin than James E. Glenn." —McTyeire's "History."

with all the zeal and faithfulness of a heart that counted no labor too exacting, no service too lowly, in the cause of his Master.[1] The results of Mr. Moore's preaching to the slaves were such that application was made by several of the planters to the South Carolina Conference for missionaries to be regularly sent to preach to their people. Accordingly in 1829, through the influence of the Rev. William Capers, the missionary society of that conference sent out two preachers for this special work, Rev. John Honour to the plantations south of the Ashley River, and Rev. John H. Massey to those south of the Santee.[2] Rev. William Capers was made superintendent of these missions. Mr. Honour, succumbing to the malaria of the region, died the same year (1829). "He was a noble, zealous Christian minister, not ashamed of the lowly work to which he had been called, but joyfully resigning even life itself in the cause." He was succeeded by Rev. George W. Moore. Rev. James Danelly was sent to a mission on the Savannah River, and the work extended. The operations of the first year gathered 417 church-members. The experiment, eyed with distrust by most of the planters, denounced by many as a hurtful and perilous innovation, favored by very few, had been commenced. It was found that the preaching of the gospel with the simplicity and directness of the Methodists was understood by the negroes and took well with them; that, combined with the regular discipline of the church, it produced a distinct improvement in their moral character and habits, making them sober, industrious, honest, and contented. Prejudice fell away little by little. Doubt and distrust brightened into approval. The time for enlargement was come. The door of access to these thousands of Africa's benighted children was open-

[1] "The Gospel Among the Slaves," p. 154.
[2] *Id.*, p. 155.

ing wider and wider.[1] The movement, begun in South Carolina, soon extended throughout the whole connection. Missions were organized in all the conferences, and men, carefully chosen for the work, devoted their entire time to the religious instruction of the slaves. They assembled them in congregations, preached to them the gospel, instructed and comforted the penitents, baptized the converted, organized them into societies, administered to them the holy communion, visited and prayed with them in their cabins, ministered to their sick, and buried their dead. In South Carolina *alone* at the time of the death of Bishop Capers (1854) there were twenty-six mission stations on the plantations, served by thirty-two regularly appointed preachers, and counting a membership of over ten thousand negroes and over a thousand whites, or, in exact figures, 10,371 of the former and 1175 of the latter. The contributions of the South Carolina Conference for the work for that year (1854) amounted to $25,000. Nor was this difficult and uninviting work left to or thrust upon preachers of inferior quality or ability. Indeed, the planters declared that they were unwilling to receive young or indiscreet or untried men to go in and out among their slaves as their moral and spiritual advisers. "Some of the best preachers of Southern Methodism spent their best days in this work," says one who had large personal knowledge of the field. There were W. C. Kirkland (father of the present chancellor of Vanderbilt University), G. W. Moore, Charles Wilson, Coburn, Boyd, Bunch, Ledbetter, Turpin, Rush, Skidmore, Carr, Steele, and many others—unmonumented heroes of earth, whose record is safe in the keeping of God. It is not possible in the brief space allotted to this history to recount the toils, the privations, the sufferings, the

[1] Dr. Wightman in "Southern Quarterly Review," quoted by McTyeire, p. 585.

martyr-like self-immolation, the apostolic successes of these humble Methodist preachers, who, in the isolation of the remote plantations, amid the pestilential malaria of the river-bottoms and the rice-swamps of the far South, ministered the evangel of divine love and salvation to the lowly sons and daughters of that benighted race; and who, away back in those dim and distant years, did more than all other agencies combined to prepare them for the responsibilities of freedom and citizenship, as well as for the kingdom of heaven. A volume might be written of the Acts of these Apostles to the Southern slaves. Indeed, such a volume has been written.[1] It remains for some magnanimous negro of the future to propose, and for his magnanimous fellow-negroes of all classes, North and South, East and West, to erect, on some suitable spot, a worthy and enduring monument to the memory of the noble and self-forgetting Southern Methodist preachers who, in much patience, in afflictions, in necessities, in labors, in watchings, in fastings, in weariness and painfulness and perils, in honor and dishonor, through evil report and good report, christianized their fathers.[2]

Up to the time of the division of the church, in 1844, these Southern Methodist preachers had gathered into church-membership over a hundred thousand African slaves.[3] And it was for the opportunity and privilege of continuing this work that they made their stand in 1844.[4]

[1] "The Gospel Among the Slaves," p. 394, by Miss Annie Maria Barnes and Dr. W. P. Harrison. Nashville, Barbee & Smith, 1893.

[2] "In the neighborhood where I lived during the war in Alabama the sound of a trumpet would have called up five thousand colored men and not over fifty white men. The white men had gone off to the war and left their wives, children, and property in the care of the negroes. Not a crime was committed."—Dr. R. H. Rivers, in "Central Methodist," January 27, 1894. The same was true everywhere. To the preaching of the Gospel, as above related, it was due that the crimes now so frequent were almost unheard of.

[3] The number of colored members of the Southern Church in 1846 was 124,961.

[4] Compare the latter part of Chapter II.

In 1860, sixteen years after the division, the Southern Church had upon her rolls nearly a quarter of a million of these imported heathen people. The official returns for that year give 207,776 members, with 180,000 negro children under regular catechetical instruction. Says that calm and careful historian of Methodism, Bishop McTyeire: "The church-membership of all the missionary societies and stations, in all parts of the world, did not equal the colored membership of Methodism in the Southern States."[1] Said another bishop: "The Southern Church counted more converts among these descendants of Ham than the united efforts of Christendom had gathered upon all the mission-fields of the heathen world."[2] If any man will furnish reliable facts and figures to contradict or correct this statement of two of the bishops of the M. E. Church, South, he shall have our prompt acknowledgment of the mistake, and our thanks for his kindness. Whether that be done or not, who is there so destitute of magnanimity, or even of common fairness and candor, as to refuse to recognize and acknowledge this great service of the Southern Methodist Church to the negro race, to the country, and to Christendom?

In addition to their missions to the slaves, the Southern Church enterprised a mission to China at the first General Conference, in 1846, and organized that mission in 1848. Ten years later, when their China mission had gotten into successful operation, the General Conference of 1858 took measures for founding missions in Africa and Central America. But the war prevented the execution of their plans.[3] These facts together will explain how it was that no other foreign missions were undertaken until after the war, and will at the same time account for the fact that

[1] McTyeire's "History of Methodism," p. 387.
[2] "Life of Bishop George F. Pierce," p. 469.
[3] See page 68.

the present missionary operations of the Southern Church are not yet so extensive as those of other churches in different circumstances.

The M. E. Church, South, has one General Board of Missions. This board has charge of the four missions in foreign lands, as well as the Indian and German missions in the home-land, and all other missions not provided for by the Annual Conferences. In addition to this General Board, each Annual Conference has a Conference Board, which has entire control of the missions within its borders and under its care, as well as of the money raised for their support. A collection is annually taken for the General Board in every congregation, and a separate collection for the use of the Annual Conference Board. The General Board employs three secretaries, who at present are I. G. John, D.D., H. C. Morrison, D.D., and Rev. Walter R. Lambuth, M.D., D.D. The church has missions in China, Japan, Mexico, and Brazil, as well as among the Indians and Germans of this country, and in many of the Western States and Territories.

2. *The China Mission.*

The mission to China was authorized by the first General Conference of the church, in 1846. Two years afterward, on April 24, 1848, the Rev. Charles Taylor, M.D., and the Rev. Benjamin Jenkins stood with their wives on the deck of the little ship "Cleone" in Boston Harbor. A little group of Boston Methodists joined them in singing the Missionary Hymn and in prayer, and they sailed away over unknown seas to an unknown world. The cabin of the "Cleone" was ten by fourteen feet, and seven feet in height. The state-rooms were six by four. In such a vessel they sailed a voyage of four months, and anchored,

August 12th, in the harbor of Hong Kong. Afterward they proceeded to Shanghai, where the mission was to be established. Here they purchased a lot, built a temporary dwelling, and went to work. The next year they purchased another lot and built a chapel, in which they held their first service in January, 1850. They established two day-schools, gathered thirty scholars, and mingled religious services with the daily exercises. In 1851 their Chinese teacher and his wife renounced Buddhism and became Christians. This man, Liew, soon became a preacher and an evangelist, and proclaimed the gospel to hundreds of his fellow-countrymen. "His ministry was greatly blessed. He died in 1866, mourned by missionaries and native Christians as a great loss to the cause of Christianity."

In 1852 Rev. W. G. E. Cunnyngham, D.D., and his wife joined the missionary force in China, and became faithful and efficient workers in that difficult field. These all remained at their post and continued their work amid the trials and horrors of the Taiping rebellion in 1853. Shanghai was crowded with soldiers, and amid the devastations committed by them the two residences of the missionaries and their chapel were burned. In 1854 Rev. Dr. D. C. Kelley, Rev. J. W. Lambuth, and Rev. J. L. Belton, with their wives, arrived in China to reinforce the mission. In December, 1859, Rev. Young J. Allen and Rev. M. L. Wood sailed from New York for Shanghai.

But while the mission was thus reinforced with new arrivals, it was weakened by the return of some of the earlier missionaries, whose health was broken by the rigor of the climate and the exactions of the work. Mrs. Jenkins died on her homeward voyage, and was buried at sea. Mr. Belton arrived in New York in time to die on the soil of his native land. Dr. Kelley (in 1855) and Dr. Cunnyngham (in 1861) were compelled to return on account

of the failing health of themselves or their families. None were now left but Lambuth and Allen and Wood. In 1861 Dr. Lambuth returned to the United States; and from 1861 to 1864 Allen and Wood were cut off from communication with the home church and reduced to great straits. But they continued at their posts and their work during those years of silence and suspense, supporting themselves, in part, by doing literary work for the Chinese Government. After the war between the States, the church, impoverished as it was, entered anew upon its mission work, and other missionaries were sent out. Dr. Lambuth returned to the field in 1864 and resumed his work. Mr. Wood returned in 1866. In 1875 Rev. A. P. Parker joined the mission. In 1876 Bishop Marvin, accompanied by Rev. E. R. Hendrix, visited the mission, and besides leaving great encouragement and blessing behind for the lonely and weary workers and the converted natives, he completed and compacted the organization of the mission, ordaining four native preachers as deacons and two as elders.

After this the following missionaries were sent to the work in China: Rev. W. R. Lambuth, M.D., in 1877; C. F. Reid and W. W. Royall in 1880; Geo. R. Loehr in 1881; D. L. Anderson, O. G. Mingledorf, and W. H. Park, M.D., in 1883; W. W. Bonnell and Rev. O. A. Dukes, M.D., in 1885; W. B. Burke in 1887; W. B. Hill and J. L. Hendry in 1888; H. L. Gray in 1889; B. D. Lucas, O. E. Brown, T. A. Hearn, L. Leitch, and R. M. Campbell, M.D., in 1890. This list does not include the missionaries of the Woman's Board.

In 1886, by order of the General Conference, Bishop Wilson organized the China Mission Conference.

The following are the statistics for 1893: Number of missionaries: male, 16; wives, 10. Native preachers: or-

dained, 4; unordained, 6. Sunday-schools, 23; scholars, 1164; day-schools, 16; pupils, 1572. Communicants and probationers, 736. Property: churches, 9; value, $22,-816; parsonages, 14. Total value of church and school property, $137,311. Appropriation of Board for 1893, $37,383. Total appropriations, $568,068.

Our mission occupies seven walled cities. The missionaries publish two periodicals, that reach the thoughtful men of the eighteen provinces. We have two boarding-schools for young men, one of which is the Anglo-Chinese College at Shanghai. We have a fully equipped hospital at Suchow in charge of two surgeons, aided by several assistants. The number of patients treated in 1893 was 12,236.

3. *The Missions in Mexico.*

Early in 1873 Bishop Keener visited the City of Mexico and laid the foundations of the Mexican Mission. He succeeded in purchasing a lot in the heart of the city, near the College of Mines. He appointed to the work a native Mexican, Alejo Hernandez, who had been a soldier, a skeptic, and a prisoner, but who, through reading a book against Romanism, was led to read the Bible. This awakened him to a sense of his condition and his peril. He visited a Protestant Church in Brownsville, Texas, where he "felt his heart strangely warmed, and went away weeping for joy." He had then, under appointment of Bishop Marvin, served two years on trial in the Mexican work of the West Texas Conference before his appointment to the City of Mexico. In 1873 he was joined by Rev. J. T. Daves, of the Louisiana Conference. The first society was organized in the City of Mexico in 1875, with eighty-three members, and the work continued.

In 1878 Rev. W. M. Patterson, of the Memphis Confer-

ence, was appointed superintendent of the mission. He began at once to plan wisely and broadly in every way for the advance of the work. Buildings were procured in a number of the principal towns, a printing-press was purchased and put in operation, and at the end of one year he reported 268 members, 12 native preachers, and 12 teachers. From this impetus the work steadily grew on through the following years, until at present there are three regular conferences: the Central Mexico Mission Conference, the Mexican Border Mission Conference, and the Northwest Mexican Mission Conference.

The following missionaries are at present engaged in the Mexican work: A. H. Sutherland, J. W. Grimes, D. F. Watkins, Geo. B. Winton, J. M. Weems, J. D. Scoggins, D. W. Carter, S. G. Kilgore, J. F. Corbin, R. C. Elliott, W. D. King, J. C. Cavener, J. R. Mood.

The statistics for 1892 are as follows: Missionaries, 13; wives, 10; native preachers, 80; members, 4863; Sunday-schools, 153; scholars, 3642; day-schools, 14; pupils, 1192; churches, 52; value, $92,029; parsonages, 19. Total value of property, $167,512. Appropriations for 1893, $73,094. Total appropriations to the Mexican work, $1,125,362.

The three conferences support a weekly paper, "El Evangelista Mexicano."

4. *The Brazil Mission.*

The Rev. J. E. Newman, of the Alabama Conference, removed to Brazil at the close of the war of 1861–65. He preached and worked, as he was able, among the English-speaking people of the province of San Paulo. Later he organized a small society there. In 1875 he was recognized as a missionary of the M. E. Church, South, and

appointed superintendent of the work which the church then undertook in Brazil. In the same year Rev. J. J. Ransom, of the Tennessee Conference, was appointed to labor in that empire, and was put in charge of the work in Rio de Janeiro. In the years following others were sent out by the Board: J. L. Kennedy, J. W. Tarbaux, H. C. Tucker, J. W. Wolling, E. A. Tilly, Michael Dickie, John M. Lauder, R. C. Dickson, J. L. Bruce, and C. B. McFarland. The mission was organized into an Annual Conference by Bishop Granbery in 1887.

The statistics for 1893 are as follows: Missionaries, 10; wives, 9; native preachers, 16; native local preachers, 5; members, 825; Sunday-schools, 11; scholars, 441; boys' day-schools, 5; pupils, 438.

There is a beautiful stone church in Rio, a comely brick church in Juiz de Fora, a good brick church in Piracicaba, and other chapels to the amount of about $75,000 in value. Total value of church property, $111,626. Contributed (1893) by the members, $7022. Appropriated by the Board for 1893, $31,440. Total appropriations, $326,821. They have a weekly paper, their conference organ, the "Expositor Christão," with 1650 subscribers.

5. *The Mission to Japan.*

The mission to Japan is the youngest of the missions. The first appropriation was made in 1885. In 1886 Rev. Dr. J. W. Lambuth, who had previously made a *reconnoissance* of the island, was transferred from China to take charge in Japan. He was accompanied by Rev. W. R. Lambuth, M.D., his son, and Rev. O. A. Dukes, M.D. In September of that year the first meeting of the Japan Mission was held at Kobe. Bishop Wilson, accompanied by Rev. Collins Denny, was present. In 1887 the mission re-

ported 6 foreign members, 1 Chinese, and 1 Japanese. In the beginning of 1888 the missionaries had received into the church by baptism 64 adults, and had 66 probationers. The General Board has, at present, 18 missionaries in Japan. Rev. W. R. Lambuth, M.D., at home on leave; Rev. W. E. Towson, Osaka, Japan; S. H. Wainright, M.D., at home on leave; Rev. J. C. C. Newton, Kwansei Gakuin, Kobe, Japan; Rev. N. W. Utley, Osaka, Japan; Rev. T. W. B. Demaree, Kwansei Gakuin, Kobe, Japan; Rev. B. W. Waters, Hiroshima, Japan; Rev. C. B. Moseley, Matsuyama, Japan; Rev. W. A. Wilson, Oita, Japan; Rev. Simeon Shaw, Yamaguchi, Japan; Rev. H. G. Hawkins, Matsuyama, Japan; Rev. W. A. Davis, Uwajima post-office, Japan; Rev. J. T. Meyers, Tadotsu post-office, Kobe, Japan; Rev. C. A. Tague, Iwakuni post-office, Hiroshima, Japan; Rev. S. E. Hager, Osaka, Japan; W. P. Turner, Kobe, Japan; C. M. Bradbury, Kobe, Japan; Rev. B. S. Rayner.

The statistics for 1893 are: Missionaries, 18; wives, 9. Native preachers: traveling, 6; local preachers, 6; exhorters, 14. Members, 507; increase during the year, 57; probationers, 87; Sunday-schools, 42; scholars, 1297; theological schools, 1; theological students, 15; boys' day-schools, 13; pupils, 385; churches, 5; chapels, 26; parsonages, 4. Total value of property, $37,366; collections, $3699.90. In 1892 Dr. J. W. Lambuth died in Japan. His dying message to the Church was, "I die at my post. Send more men."

6. *Missions to the Indians.*

The Indian Mission Conference is a mixed conference, having 2000 white members and 10,759 Indian members, some pure bloods, some mixed bloods.[1] It extends

[1] Dr. I. G. John, Missionary Secretary, is my authority for these figures.

over Indian and Oklahoma Territories. There were 1329 additions to the church during the year 1892–93. The conference has 160 churches, valued at $74,265, and 43 parsonages, valued at $21,194. The Harrell Institute, under the presidency of Rev. Theodore F. Brewer, has a faculty of 9 teachers and 250 students. Besides this, there are four other schools, with 13 teachers and 327 pupils. The conference contributed last year for foreign missions, $2150.05; for domestic missions, $972; for church extension, $492.35. Appropriations, 1892–93, $21,340.

"We have confessedly a larger field and greater success among the Indians than any other church in the country," says Dr. John, Missionary Secretary.

7. *German Missions.*

The German Mission Conference embraces all the German churches in the State of Texas. It was organized in 1874 at Houston. For 1892 it reports 19 missionaries and 1073 members. It has a college at Fredericksburg, Texas.

The amount collected by the General Board for the foreign missions of the church during the year ending April 1, 1893, was $346,572.39. "The Methodist Review of Missions," a monthly magazine of sixty-four pages, edited by Dr. John and Dr. Lambuth and published by the General Board, is a bright, newsy, attractive, and earnest advocate of the great cause, and will compare favorably with the missionary magazines of other churches. Dr. John has just written and published a volume entitled "A Handbook of Methodist Missions" (pp. 604), which is an exceedingly valuable manual.

8. *Woman's Work in the Church.*[1]

In April, 1874, largely through the zeal and efforts of Mrs. M. L. Kelley, some of the Methodist women of Nashville, Tenn., formed themselves into an organization known as a "Bible Mission," with two distinct objects: one to furnish aid and Bible instruction to the poor and destitute of the city, the other to collect and contribute pecuniary aid to foreign missionary fields. In three years this society secured a home for the poor of the city, founded the "Mission Home" for fallen women, which has grown into a large and permanent institution, and contributed $3000 for Christian work among the women of China. To this work Mrs. Kelley devoted her every treasure, her prayers, her labor, her child, and her grandchild, both of whom spent some time in China. Similar societies were about the same time or soon afterward organized at Warren, Ark., in the Broad Street Church in Richmond, Va., at Macon, Ga., Glasgow, Mo., Louisville, Ky., and Franklin, N. C. For some years before this a society of ladies in New Orleans had been working for the Mexican Mission. In 1878 there were more than twenty Woman's Missionary Societies in the Southern Methodist Church. These were the same year incorporated into one, and the Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, was organized under a constitution provided by the General Conference of that year, with Mrs. Juliana Hayes, of Baltimore, as first president, and Mrs. D. H. McGavock, of Nashville, Tenn., as corresponding secretary. Miss Lochie Rankin, of Tennessee, was the first representative of the newly formed society. She was sent to take charge of a school in Shanghai. This school was already in existence under the General Board, with an

[1] See chapter by Mrs. Black in "Handbook of Methodist Missions."

attendance of 29 pupils and 6 native Bible women. The first meeting of the General Executive Board of the Woman's Missionary Society was held in Louisville, Ky., in May, 1879. Fifteen conference societies had been organized, with 219 auxiliaries, numbering 5890 members. The receipts for that first year were over $4000. At the next annual meeting, in Nashville, Tenn., delegates from twenty-two conference societies were present, representing 465 auxiliaries and 12,273 members. The collections for the second year were $13,775. A second missionary had been sent out in 1879, Miss Dora Rankin. She joined her sister the same year, and the two were together put in charge of a new school established at Nantziang, while the school at Shanghai was put in charge of Mrs. Lambuth. A generous lady of Baltimore purchased and donated a home for the missionaries in Nantziang—the "Louise Home." The need of an official organ was felt, and the "Woman's Missionary Advocate" was established at Nashville, with Mrs. F. A. Butler as editor.

From these beginnings the work has grown until now the society has 2209 auxiliaries with 76,396 members, and there are flourishing missions and mission schools and hospitals in China, in South America, and in Mexico. In the field in China there are 9 missionaries of the Woman's Board, 52 native teachers, 5 Bible women, 4 boarding-schools, 33 day-schools, 758 pupils, and 1 hospital and dispensary. The points occupied are Shanghai, Nantziang, Käding, and Suchow.

The work of the Woman's Board in Mexico extends to a greater number of points. In the Laredo District there are 5 missionaries, 11 teachers, 4 native teachers, 531 pupils. At Saltillo there are 3 missionaries, 5 teachers, 181 pupils. In Durango, 1 missionary, 3 teachers, 80 pupils. In Chihuahua, 3 missionaries, 3 teachers, 109

pupils. In the San Luis Potosi, 1 missionary, 7 teachers, 158 pupils. In the Mexican work altogether there are 13 missionaries, 32 teachers, ten of whom are natives, and 1171 pupils.

In the Brazilian work there are 9 missionaries, 14 teachers, four of whom are native, 3 schools, and 240 pupils. The points occupied are Piracicaba, in the province of São Paulo, and Rio and Juiz de Fora, in the province of Rio.

The Woman's Board has and supports a school at Anadarko, in the Indian Territory, which has 4 teachers and 54 pupils.

In 1890 they had property in China worth $60,000; in Mexico, $66,300; in Brazil, $45,000; in Indian Territory, $5000; total, $176,300. The collections of the Woman's Society for 1892–93 amounted to $99,289.65.[1]

In addition to the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society there is another and a distinct society of women called the "PARSONAGE AND HOME MISSION SOCIETY." This was first organized as the "Woman's Department of Church Extension," but was afterward enlarged so as to take in any work coming under the head of home missions. Its primary object was to collect funds for the building of parsonages in needy places, and corresponded in this respect to the work of the Board of Church Extension in building churches in needy places. Miss Lucinda B. Helm, of Kentucky, to whose fertile brain the conception of the plan is due, was the first secretary and general manager, and under her zealous and successful leadership the society has grown to be an invaluable adjunct to the department of church extension.

Since its organization, in 1886, the general society and its auxiliaries have raised for all purposes $114,000. They have built or helped to build 550 parsonages, and

[1] "Report of the Woman's Missionary Society for 1893," p. 63.

many of these have been the means of establishing our church where otherwise it would have had no existence, or at best a feeble existence.[1] The society devotes itself also to the encouragement and development of local home mission work, wherever its members may be situated. The local auxiliary in Nashville, for example, employs two excellent and intelligent ladies, who have received special training, in Christian work among the lower classes. The present general secretary is Mrs. Ruth Scarritt, Kansas City, Mo.

For the special training of women who are preparing themselves for mission work, either in the home or foreign field, a school has in the last few years been established by the women of the church. It is located in Kansas City, Mo. The beautiful and commanding site upon which it is located and $25,000 toward the building were donated by the Rev. Dr. Nathan Scarritt. The women of the church subsequently raised $25,000, and a building has been erected which is a model of convenience and of architectural beauty. It is appropriately named the "Scarritt Bible and Training School." The principal is Miss M. L. Gibson. It has the following departments: Bible Study, Church History, Moral Philosophy and Christian Evidences, Nurse Training, Industrial, City Mission Work, Physical Culture. It has also a hospital department and a medical faculty. It corresponds, in part, to schools for deaconesses in other churches. It is in its second year of operation, and is doubtless destined to a career of enlarging beneficence and blessing in many ways and for all time to come.

[1] See "Report of Woman's Parsonage and Home Mission Society," p. 34.

CHAPTER XIII.

GENERAL VIEW AND CONCLUSION.

We have now outlined the history of the origin of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, as a distinct ecclesiastical body; its development, growth, and work during the years of its early prosperity, from 1846 to 1860; its period of depletion, impoverishment, and depression during and following the war, from 1861 to 1866; its resuscitation and phenomenal growth from 1866 to 1890. It remains to give a brief outline of its present condition, and to conclude.

While statistics are not an absolutely correct and infallible indication of the actual state and the real forces of a church, yet, with some general knowledge besides, they give a fairly proximate idea, and it would be difficult to form an estimate without them. It has been said that figures will not lie. But it has also been said that lies will figure. In one respect the statistics of a church involve an over-statement of its forces and resources, inasmuch as it is certain that not all those who are counted and who help to swell the numbers are actual Christians or available and effective helpers in its work. On the other hand, there are conditions, influences, and elements of power that cannot be weighed and measured, that cannot be reduced to arithmetical calculation and tabulation. So that, on the whole, statistics will at least afford as correct an estimate of a church's achievements and resources as can be put in a comprehensive and summary statement.

They furnish also a comparative estimate of the work of the several churches. The old rule, with some grains of allowance, applies here, that it is as fair for one as it is for the other.

We are able to give the statistics of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, for the year 1891–92, the returns for 1892–93 not being yet made out.

Traveling preachers.	Local preachers.	White members.	Colored members.	Indian members.	Total membership.
5,368	6,481	1,282,750	357	10,759[1]	1,305,715

The year 1893 was one of general revival and large ingathering. It is perfectly certain that the total will now considerably exceed 1,350,000. The Southern Methodists outnumber any other single Protestant church in the country except the Baptists, who (without counting the colored churches) reckon, all told, *North and South*, about 2,200,000, and the Northern Methodists, who reported for 1892, *probationers, colored members and all*, 2,473,159.[2]

Further statistics for 1891–92:

Sunday-schools.	Teachers.	Scholars.	Churches.	Value.	Parsonages.	Value.	Total value.
13,426	95,204	754,223	12,856	$20,287,112	3,015	$3,693,436	$23,980,546

Missionary statistics for 1892–93:

Foreign Missions.	Domestic Missions.	Woman's Board.	Total for Missions.	Church Extension.
$346,572.39[3]	$134,690.74	$99,289.65[4]	$580,552.78	$80,685.85[5]

At least a third of the Church Extension collections was used on mission fields. This will make over $600,000 raised for mission work in 1892–93.

The conference collections for the superannuated

1 See p. 126 and note.
2 See "Methodist Year-Book" for 1893, p. 49.
3 "Report of Board of Missions for 1893," p. 208.
4 "Report of Woman's Missionary Society," 1893, p. 63.
5 "Church Extension Bulletin," July, 1893, p. 2.

preachers and the widows and orphans of deceased preachers for 1891–92 amounted to $148,577.46.

Educational statistics for 1891–92:

Schools and Colleges.	Teachers.	Pupils.	Value of property.	Endowment.
179	897	16,620	$4,485,042	$1,538,000

The history of the church will vindicate the claim that according to her ability she has been the patron of education. Retaining in 1845 possession of the institutions which were located in her territory, she at once inaugurated and between the years 1846 and 1860 carried forward an educational movement of great vigor and wide extent. During that period more than thirty schools of collegiate grade sprang into existence, some with liberal endowments, while the older ones were enlarged or more adequately endowed. The Journal of the General Conference of 1858 gives the names and statistics of 106 schools and colleges owned or controlled by the church.[1] During the war all or nearly all these were closed; many of them were destroyed. After the devastations of the war, and under the embarrassments of her impoverished condition, the church addressed herself to the task of restoring her educational institutions. Considering the inadequacy of her resources, her lack of means, and the difficulties to be overcome, her success has not been small. The results of her earnest efforts have received generous recognition upon the part of observant men of other churches and sections and countries. Bishop Merrill, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, says: "The zeal of our Southern brethren in rebuilding their church institutions since the desolations of the war has been phenomenal. The history of Methodism scarcely affords a parallel to the successes they have achieved."[2] Dr. Waller, the fraternal delegate of the Brit-

[1] "Journal of General Conference of 1858," pp. 523–532.
[2] "Organic Union of American Methodism," p. 109.

ish Wesleyan Conference to the General Conference of the Southern Church in 1890, said: "The way in which Southern Methodism rose from the ashes after the war is one of the most remarkable facts in modern church history."

Her leading institution is the Vanderbilt University, at Nashville, Tenn., representing the munificent gifts of father, son, and grandson of the great family of that name in the Knickerbocker State. After this comes Randolph-Macon College, with its two affiliated fitting-schools and Woman's College, in Virginia; Emory College, in Georgia; Emory and Henry, in Western Virginia; Wofford, with its two fitting-schools, in South Carolina; Trinity, in North Carolina; Central, in Missouri; Southern, in Alabama; Southwestern, in Texas; Wesleyan, in Kentucky; Millsaps, in Mississippi; Centenary, in Louisiana; Hendrix, in Arkansas; Pacific, in California. These schools have been and are more or less crippled for lack of ample endowments. Most of them have some endowment, and are making most vigorous and not altogether unsuccessful efforts to increase it.

Vanderbilt University has property approximating a million dollars in value and a productive endowment of $900,000. While this is a good beginning, the University is in great need of at least a million more.

The establishment of this institution in the South has given a great impulse to the cause of education in general, whose momentum increases with the advancing years. It created the necessity for a class of training-schools which are springing up in all parts of the connection to meet the increasing demand. On the other hand, the University is furnishing trained teachers for these training-schools, as well as for chairs in many of the colleges, both in the church and out of it; who in their turn are preparing students for the University and directing them with enthusiasm to the halls of their own honored *alma mater*.

Students from the training-schools enter the University to take the regular course: students from the colleges enter the higher classes of the undergraduate course, or take post-graduate or professional courses. The University, on the one hand, and the colleges and training-schools, on the other, are interdependent, correlative, and complementary. The University in ever-increasing measure supplies trained teachers for the colleges and training-schools, while these in turn supply students for the University classes, and there is endless and ever-increasing progression.

This correlation, however, has, so far, been only partially realized in practice. The universal application of the principle would give us a complete, effective, and almost ideal educational system. This will involve mutual concessions, and the subordination of local and personal to general interests. For this consummation many of the leading men are devoutly wishing and hoping, and toward it they are looking and working.

We have four theological schools: the theological department of Vanderbilt University, a theological school at San Luis Potosi, in Mexico, another at Kobe, in Japan, and the theological department of Paine Institute, for colored preachers.

With all that has been said, our educational institutions, especially the Colleges and the University, are in great need of large pecuniary aid, and it must in all candor be confessed and declared that men of means in the South have not yet risen to an appreciation of the opportunity that is set before them, and of the responsibility that is laid upon them.[1]

For twelve years after its organization the Methodist

[1] It was the purpose of the author to devote a full chapter to the history of education in the church, but the exigencies of space absolutely forbade it.

Episcopal Church, South, had no publishing-house of its own, for causes given in other parts of this history. In 1862 the nascent institution was taken and used during the remainder of the war as a United States printing-office. In 1872 the house was burned. In 1878 its liabilities exceeded its assets by $124,383, and it was declared insolvent. On April 1, 1893, its total assets amounted to $659,516.58, with an insignificant debt of $13,396.18. The volume of business for the fiscal year ending April 1, 1893, amounted to $343,707.94, out of the profits of which $17,500 was appropriated for the benefit of worn-out preachers and the widows and orphans of deceased preachers.[1] These facts and figures speak for themselves.

"The Christian Advocate," one of the leading weeklies of the country, with Dr. E. E. Hoss as editor and Dr. E. M. Bounds, assistant editor, has a circulation of nearly 25,000. "The Pacific Methodist Advocate" (San Francisco), Dr. H. M. DuBose, editor, is the organ of the church in the West. Both these are the property and the official organs of the church. Besides these two there are twenty-seven other papers published as organs of conferences or by private enterprise. One of these is in German, one in Spanish, one in Portuguese, two in Chinese. The church publishes a "Quarterly Review," Dr. W. P. Harrison, editor, which will compare favorably with other church reviews. "The Methodist Review of Missions" has been noticed elsewhere. "The Woman's Missionary Advocate," edited by Mrs. F. A. Butler, has a circulation of 13,000, and richly deserves as many more. The Sunday-school publications, of which Rev. Dr. W. G. E. Cunnyngham is editor, reach up into the millions.

The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, is at peace with herself. While her progress has been singularly

[1] Report of Barbee and Smith, Agents, for 1892–93.

beset with difficulties and discouragements from without, she has been singularly free from dissensions or disturbances within. She has pursued her course and performed her heaven-appointed work with a unity and continuity of purpose to which church history affords few parallels. A more homogeneous ecclesiastical community does not exist on the American continent. Throughout her entire history her peace has never been disturbed by heresy, or by wild and venturesome speculation, or even by serious doctrinal controversy. She has kept the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace: one body, one Spirit, one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all. On this point Bishop Merrill bears generous testimony: "Soundness of doctrine is maintained with reference to all that is vital in the Christian system. The Word of God is laid upon the consciences of the people with its stern requirements and penalties, as well as with its promises and grace, as the only standard of moral obligation." [1]

The church has studiously and persistently kept herself aloof from all entanglements with or interferences in political matters. This is not because she is insensible of her position and relations in the world, or indifferent to these things, but because she believes that the way to make a good state is to make good citizens, and the way to make good citizens is to make good men, and the way to make good men is to hold upon their consciences God's eternal law of right and God's eternal gospel of grace. To appeal to political motives or to arouse partisan passions would seriously if not effectually hinder this higher and holier work. Hence her doctrine is that the function of the church and ministry is to take care of the man; and the citizen and the state will take care of them-

[1] "The Organic Union of American Methodism," p. 108.

selves. She interferes with no man's political liberty; she neither dictates nor suggests any man's political action. The conviction is throughly ingrained and universal that by political interferences she would lose her hold on men and lessen her power for higher good. Hence her ministers instinctively abstain even from political allusions. This does not mean that the church or her ministers are non-committal and silent upon great moral and social questions. The caustic deliverances of the last two General Conferences on the question of *prohibition*, and the emphatic action of the last one on the subject of *divorce*, are proofs to the contrary.

The agitation of certain questions of church polity or economy, which so seriously disturbs the peace of some other churches, has not invaded the Southern Methodist fold. The tendency to Congregationalism, of which so much has been written in Methodist journals of late, if in reality it exists at all, exists to a very small extent in Southern Methodism. The preachers go where they are sent, even to the barren missions of the remote rural districts, and there are many noble and touching examples of the ancient heroism of the Methodist itinerancy throughout the South. If any preacher has refused to go to a "hard appointment," or has afterward left the church on account of a "hard appointment," since the beginning of this writer's ministry (1877), he does not know of it. On the other hand, the wealthy metropolitan congregations receive and support the ministers who are sent to them, though sometimes against their choice and judgment. And in comparatively few instances is any undue pressure brought to bear upon the bishop by laymen to control appointments. Indeed, some of the bishops have said that the laymen do not give expression to their views and wishes as frequently and as freely as they ought.

Upon the broader and more fundamental matters of church polity, as the relations of the different departments of church government, their functions, powers, and rights, there is practical unanimity of view. The relations and prerogatives of the episcopal office, the powers and limitations of the General Conference, the rights and functions of the body of elders constituting the Annual Conferences, and the rights of individual ministers and private members—all these are articulately defined and securely fixed and guarded by the constitution. These definitions and safeguards are clearly understood by the ministry and the laity of the church, and are accepted with a consensus that is little short of unanimity. Witness the vote of the Annual Conferences creating the veto proviso of the constitution—2024 yeas to 9 nays.[1] There is at present some little breeze of discussion among the newspapers concerning the criticism of bishops and their official acts, which is all right and proper; but it hardly touches the constitutional aspects of the subject, and there is no real demand for any essential change.

The sphere of woman in the work of the church has quietly settled itself, and to the entire and unfeigned satisfaction of the women as well as the men. There has never been the slightest agitation, disturbance, or discontent in the adjustments of this great question in the past; there is not the slightest at the present.

The colored problem is unknown in the Southern Methodist Church. That problem solved itself long ago, and quietly. The General Conference, at the request of the 60,000 colored members, set them up as an independent church in 1870. They have their own conferences, Annual and General, they have their own bishops, they manage their own affairs, they are satisfied, and they are

[1] See page 90.

doing well. Those who wished to remain in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, did so without let or hindrance. A few so preferred, and our statistics report 357 colored members. But the Southern Church did not in one sense set *off* her colored members, she only set them *up*, as one of the colored bishops wittily remarked; and the "Mother-Church," as they affectionately call us,[1] still takes a parental interest in them and renders them substantial help. "It was widely thought," to quote once more the words of Bishop Merrill, "that when the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, organized this colored church and ordained its bishops, the chief aim was to get rid of its colored membership. But better things have come to pass. The newly opened fountain of liberality is pouring streams of blessing on the needy. Both churches are to be congratulated."[2]

The Southern Methodist Church has fraternal relations with all Methodisms, and with the leading evangelical churches of other names and orders. She exchanges either fraternal messengers or messages with the principal Methodist bodies, white and colored, of the United States and Canada, and the Wesleyan Methodist Conference of Great Britain, with the Northern and Southern Presbyterians, the Cumberland Presbyterians, and the Baptists.[3] As to federation she is, perhaps, over-conservative, a trifle provincial, but it is to be hoped that ere long she will be ready to coöperate in the way of federation with other Methodisms and other evangelical churches, in all prudent and practicable ways. As to fusion with other bodies, the mass of her ministry and membership holds

1 See article of Bishop Holsey in "The Independent" for March 5, 1891.
2 "The Organic Union of American Methodism," p. 105.
3 "Handbook of Southern Methodism," pp. 120–128.

that it is safest and best to leave that momentous question to "the leadings of Providence and the logic of events."

The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, along with her sister evangelical churches, stands for the faith once for all delivered to the saints, for the pure and simple gospel of Jesus Christ, and for the conversion of the world; along with other Methodist bodies, she stands for every doctrine of Arminian Wesleyan theology, "from prevenient grace to perfect love"; more than any other church in the world, she stands for Constitutional Episcopal Methodism.

HISTORY OF THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF NORTH AMERICA.

BY

JAMES BROWN SCOULLER.

THE UNITED PRESBYTERIANS.

CHAPTER I.

REFORMED PRESBYTERIAN ELEMENT.

THE United Presbyterian Church of North America did not head at a single fountain. Several springs united their tiny rills at different times to form its stream. It is the result of several unions, and its antecedents were therefore more numerous and fragmentary than those of most churches. This has thrown a veil of obscurity over much of its past history, and strangers to its communion are easily confused in reference to the personality and relations of its constituents.

It is the principal American representative of the dissenting churches of Scotland. The Scots have always been distinguished for their strength of will and tenacity of purpose, and their willingness to sacrifice rather than to yield their convictions. This characteristic has shown itself strongly in their ecclesiastical history, for it has contributed largely to the existence not only of dissent but of division and subdivision among the dissenters. These separate organizations were brought to America, and for a time kept up their old country disputes, and remained

antagonistic until, after much deliberation and negotiation, they were largely gathered into one body. A bird's-eye view of the tangled history of Scotch dissent will be found in the note below.[1]

The oldest of these dissenting churches is the Covenanting, or, as subsequently styled by themselves, the Reformed Presbyterian, and it is one of the sources from which the United Presbyterian Church of North America has sprung, and its impress is still felt. Its existence may be said to date from the "Second Reformation" in Scotland (1638–46), because it has always adhered tenaciously to the attainments made in the National Church at that time. But in its definite and more independent form it may be regarded as a result of the badly managed battle

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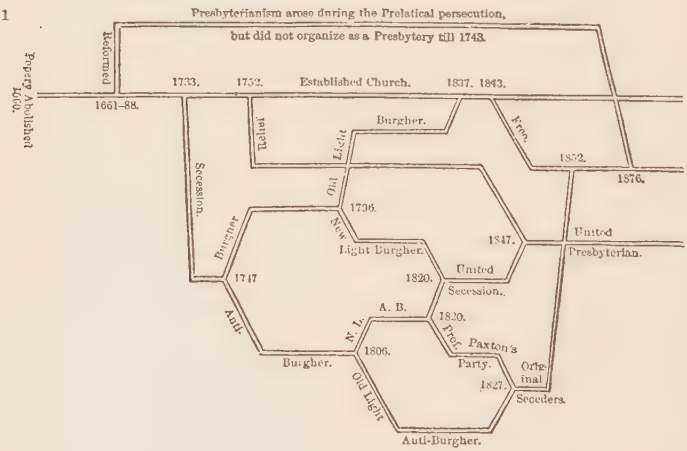

Every division arose, not from difference in reference to any doctrine of grace, but from questions connected with the union of church and state.

Last century was marked for its divisions, this one for its unions. Eighty years ago there were *seven* distinct Presbyterian organizations in Scotland; now there are but *three*, with residuary fragments of Covenanters and Original Seceders.

of Bothwell Bridge, fought on Sabbath, June 22, 1679. The remnant which escaped from that disgraceful rout, and other sympathizers, banded themselves together under the guidance of Richard Cameron and Donald Cargill, and utterly refused to have any religious communion with any minister who had taken the "Black Indulgence." And being soon outlawed, they held secret meetings for counsel and for worship among the hills, and with arms in their hands, and became popularly known as "hill men" and "mountain men." On the 22d of June, 1680, the first anniversary of the Bothwell Bridge disaster, they affixed a declaration to the market-cross of Sanquhar, in which they formally disowned Charles Stuart as their lawful sovereign, for his perjury, his breach of covenant, and his tyranny; and also denied the right of James, Duke of York, to the succession. This was burning the bridge behind them, and henceforth they neither asked nor received quarter. A month after this Cameron was surprised and slain at Airdsmoss, and Cargill was finally hunted down and executed on the 27th of July, 1681.

This left the Covenanters without a minister, and they organized a system of societies. Those in the same neighborhood met as best they could, and as often as they could, for prayer and mutual edification. A plan of correspondence was established, according to which commissioners from all these societies met secretly about every three months, in a general meeting, which settled the policy and action of the whole body, and solved questions of conscience, but never undertook the administration of discipline or any official work. The first of these general meetings[1] convened at Logan House, in Clydesdale, on

[1] The minutes of these meetings were kept by Michael Shields, brother of the author of the "Hind Let Loose," and may be found in "Faithful Contendings Displayed," published by John Howie in 1780, in Glasgow.

the 15th of December, 1681. This method of unity and fraternity was kept up until a Presbytery was organized. It was also adopted in Ireland and subsequently in America.

The Covenanters would hear no minister preach nor receive ordination from any one who had taken the "Indulgence." This compelled them to do without the sealing ordinances or to procure a minister from abroad. James Renwick, a young man of good education and one of their number, was sent in the autumn of 1682 to the Netherlands, where Mr. Cameron had received his ordination. After spending the winter in the University of Groningen, he was ordained to the gospel ministry on the 10th of May, 1683, by the Classis of Groningen. While he was pursuing his studies abroad the General Meeting gave a regular call to Alexander Peden, Michael Bruce, and Samuel Arnot, Scotch ministers, now refugees in Ireland, to come and minister to them. But the persecution of this "contending and suffering remnant" was growing hotter and hotter, and these ministers declined. Mr. Renwick returned in September, 1683, and ministered most faithfully amidst very many dangers and difficulties. So hostile was the government, and so numerous and vigilant were its spies, that his first sermon in the fields was not until the 23d of November, at Darmede. He was repeatedly outlawed by proclamation, and every subject was forbidden "to harbor him and his followers, or supply them with meat and drink, but to hunt and pursue them out of all their dens, caves, and most retired deserts, and to raise the *hue and cry* after them." And such proclamations were always vigorously and inhumanly executed; and yet they kept the 4th of March, 1685, as "a day of thanksgiving unto the Lord for the wonderful proofs of his love and good-will, manifested to a scattered and distressed remnant in this land, by his delivering of them in

several places from the power and rage of enemies when they were ready to swallow them up."

The death of Charles II. gave them a short breathing-spell, which they improved by holding a meeting on the 28th of May, 1685, at Blackgannock, where they drafted a protestation against proclaiming James, Duke of York, as King of Scotland. As soon as this meeting had adjourned, two hundred and twenty men in arms marched to Sanquhar, where they sang a Psalm, Mr. Renwick made a prayer, and then they published this protestation and nailed a copy to the market-cross.

Mr. Renwick was finally captured and taken to Edinburgh, and here executed on the 11th of February, 1688, in the twenty-sixth year of his age. And this was the last life sacrificed to the cause of religious freedom in Scotland. Alexander Shields, who had been licensed by some Scottish ministers in London, joined the Covenanters in December, 1686. William Boyd, educated at their expense in the Netherlands, was licensed in September, 1687, by the Classis of Groningen. Thomas Lining was also sustained by them for four years at universities in Holland, and was ordained in August, 1688, by the Classis of Embden, after an examination which extended over twenty-one days. Providence now brought them relief by changing their circumstances and surroundings. James was banished, and William and Mary were brought to the throne. Persecution ceased, and the "hill men" were permitted to worship God publicly, and according to the teachings of their own conscience.

After many years of intermission the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland met again in 1690, and reëstablished Presbyterianism. Messrs. Lining, Shields, and Boyd, with a majority of their followers, united now with the kirk, but there was a minority which refused to do so,

because of William's assumption of royal supremacy over the church. These "Old Dissenters," as now called, were again without a minister, and so remained for sixteen years, but free from persecutions of any kind. In 1706 the Rev. John McMillan, of the Established Church, joined them and became their minister. In 1743 he was joined by the Rev. Thomas Nairne, from the Secession Church, and they, with the aid of some ruling elders, constituted themselves, August 1, 1743, into a Presbytery, which they styled the "Reformed Presbytery." One of their first acts was to license Alexander Marshall, who had studied under Mr. McMillan. He was soon afterward ordained to the ministry, "having received a call from the United Societies." May 16, 1744, they licensed, and October 6th following ordained, John Cuthbertson, another of Mr. McMillan's students.

During the twenty-seven years of persecution in Scotland many families of Covenanter sympathies fled for peace and safety to the north of Ireland, where they settled in little clusters and were served occasionally by refugee ministers. About 1662 Rev. David Houstoun fled to and settled in Ireland, and ministered to them until his death, in 1696. As early as 1720, and possibly earlier, some of these families left Ireland and made their homes in America, and from time to time others followed, and in this way the Covenanting Church was planted in this country. A few mingled with this migration who came directly from the west of Scotland, but generally they were from Ireland, although of Scottish parentage.

These immigrants located principally on the Walkill, Orange County, N. Y., and in the bounds of the present counties of Lancaster, Dauphin, York, Adams, Cumberland, Franklin, and Fulton, in Pennsylvania, with scattering families elsewhere, and especially in the interior of

South Carolina. They brought with them their system of praying societies and a general correspondence, and soon confederated, and kept themselves distinct from the Presbyterian churches in their neighborhoods. As many as could met together in 1743, on the Middle Octorara, in Lancaster County, and renewed their covenant obligations. In this they were assisted by the Rev. Alexander Craighead, who, although connected with the Presbyterian Synod of Philadelphia, sympathized with the Covenanters in their peculiar views and took great interest in their welfare, and for years preached for them considerably, and for a time actually joined them. He wrote on their behalf to the Reformed Presbytery in Scotland, and was instrumental in procuring them a minister.

In 1750 the Presbytery in Scotland sent the Rev. John Cuthbertson to visit the societies in Ireland, which had been without a minister since the death of David Houstoun. Here he remained for a year, and then, in obedience to his Presbytery, came to America. He landed August 5, 1751, at New Castle, Del., and immediately commenced an exploration of his missionary field. He preached almost every day for a time, at Octorara, Pequea, Paxtang, and across the Susquehanna at Walter Buchanan's, Big Spring, Rocky Spring, in the Cove, and returned by way of Gettysburg and York to his headquarters on the Octorara. This circuit he made more or less frequently for twenty years. He also made two or three visits into the State of New York, and as far as Rhode Island, and westward as far as Pittsburg. At his preaching-stations there were no meeting-houses for years. When the weather permitted they met in "tents," and when it was not propitious they did the best they could in their cabins. This "tent" was pitched in a shady grove, and consisted simply of a small elevated platform for the minister, where he

could be seen and heard by all; a board nailed against a tree supported the Bible, and a few rude benches served for seats, and some boards overhead protected the minister from sun and rain. Thus accommodated, they worshiped a good part of the day.

On the 23d of August, 1752, Mr. Cuthbertson held his first communion in America. It was at Stony Ridge, in the Buchanan or Junkin "tent," now New Kingston, Cumberland County, Pa. A preparatory fast-day was observed, tokens of admission were dispensed, and the services of the Sabbath began early and lasted for *nine* hours. He paraphrased the fifteenth Psalm, and preached from John iii. 35, "The Father loveth the Son, and hath given all things into his hands." After the sermon he prayed and they sang; he then expounded the ordinance, and debarred from and invited to the tables. The communicants came to the tables singing the twenty-fourth Psalm. After four table services were concluded he gave a parting exhortation to the communicants and prayed. After an interval of half an hour he preached again, from John xvi. 31, "Jesus answered them, Do ye now believe?" On Monday he preached from Ephesians v. 15, "See that ye walk circumspectly, not as fools, but as wise." About two hundred and fifty persons communed, and this must have comprised very nearly the entire number of adult Covenanters in Pennsylvania, for the place was central, the season was pleasant, and they gathered in from their different settlements, and nearly every adult was a communicant.

This was the first time that the followers of Cameron, Cargill, and Renwick had ever, outside the British Isles, gathered together around the communion-table of the Lord, to eat bread and drink wine in commemoration of a Saviour's love and atoning death. To them it must have

been a high day. It brought them to a mount of ordinances, and spread for them a table in the wilderness, giving them thus a tangible evidence of the thoughtfulness and tender care of the Great Shepherd. It also waked the memory of other days and of other scenes, and called up the forms and caresses of loved ones parted with beyond the sea. Their tears were doubtless mingled ones of gladness and of sorrow, half of earth and half of heaven. Such a scene of gratitude and of praise, of memory and of tears, must have strengthened every heart and quickened every grace, and made them to sing, as they never sang before, that triumphant song which had so often sustained and cheered their persecuted ancestors when "mountain men" in Scotland:

> God is our refuge and our strength,
> In straits a present aid;
> Therefore, although the earth remove,
> We will not be afraid.

Mr. Cuthbertson had now finished the first year of his missionary labors, during which he preached on a hundred and twenty days, baptized a hundred and ten children, married ten couples, and rode on horseback twenty-five hundred miles. The toil and labor, the difficulties and dangers of such a year's work cannot now be estimated or appreciated. He was more than one hundred days in the saddle; he had to cross, without the aid of bridge or boat, streams of considerable volume, and often when greatly swollen; he had to pass from one settlement to another through miles of heavy, unbroken forests, where were the lair of the wild beast and the wigwam of the cruel redman, without the advantage of roads, and guided often by the blazed trees which marked a trail. The summer's sun and the winter's frost, the drenching rain and the drifting snow had to be boldly met and patiently endured. His

studying had to be largely done on horseback, without the aid of helps, during the tedious hours of his lonely rides. His food by day and lodgings at night were guiltless of any special comforts, and barely met the demands of necessity. And yet this apostolic man toiled on for thirty-nine years, during which time he preached on twenty-four hundred and fifty-two days, baptized eighteen hundred and six children, married two hundred and forty couples, and rode on horseback about seventy thousand miles, or nearly equal to three times around the world. His dust now sleeps on the Octorara's bank, awaiting the resurrection of the just, and we would gladly bring a flower and lay it upon his grave in honor of his life, and in token of gratitude for the privileges which we now enjoy, partly through his labors and sacrifices.[1]

He ordained his first bench of ruling elders April 8, 1752, at Rocky Spring, near Chambersburg, Pa. These were James and George Wilson, of Fulton County, George Mitchell, of Rocky Spring, and David Dunwoodie and Jeremiah Morrow, of Adams County. In December of the same year he ordained several more at Octorara, who belonged to the stations east of the river. These had not only a local jurisdiction but also a general supervision over all the associated societies. For several years only one communion was held every year, and this was for the benefit of the whole. A central location was selected during the pleasant weather of the late summer or early autumn, and the members from all the stations were expected to be present and participate, and they were always received with a large and hearty hospitality by the resident families. The second communion was on the 14th

[1] Mr. Cuthbertson kept a diary in which he carefully recorded every act and incident. This diary is now in the possession of the Rev. Joseph Buchanan, of Steubenville, O.

of October, 1753, at Paxtang, Dauphin County, Pa., when about two hundred communed. The third was at the same place, on the 25th of August, 1754, when about two hundred and fifty participated. Mr. Cuthbertson mentions in his diary that upon this occasion, while engaged in prayer, asking a blessing upon the use of the bread and wine, a fearful thunderstorm broke upon them, killing four horses and a dog some forty yards from the "tent."

In the spring of 1773 Mr. William Brown, of Paxtang, went as a commissioner to Ireland to procure two additional ministers, and was specially instructed to get, if possible, the Rev. Matthew Lind, pastor at Aghadowey, Londonderry County, as one of these. Mr. Lind and Alexander Dobbin, specially licensed and ordained for this purpose, returned with him. They landed at New Castle, Del., in December, 1773, and on the 10th of March, 1774, Messrs. Cuthbertson, Lind, and Dobbin, with several ruling elders, met at Paxtang, six miles east of Harrisburg, Pa., and constituted themselves as the *Reformed Presbytery of America.* They distributed their labors thus: Mr. Cuthbertson to reside on the Middle Octorara, and take charge of that church and of Muddy Run, in Lancaster County, and Lower Chanceford, in York County; Mr. Lind to locate at Paxtang, and have the pastoral care of that congregation and the one at Stony Ridge, in Cumberland County; Mr. Dobbin to reside at Rock Creek, now Gettysburg, and serve that church, and also the one at East Conecocheague, now Greencastle, Franklin County. David Telfair, of the Burgher Synod of Scotland, who had supplied a Burgher congregation in Shippen Street, Philadelphia, for ten years, joined this presbytery on the 12th of August, 1780.

The most distinctive item in the creed of the Covenanters was their refusal to profess allegiance to an immoral gov-

ernment. They not only admitted, but insisted upon it, that civil government was a divine institution, but at the same time contended that every system of civil government was not from God, because "*it is not the fact that it does exist, but its moral character, that determines whether it be the ordinance of God or not.*" For their refusal of allegiance to the administrations of Charles II. and James II. they suffered a more cruel and unrelenting persecution than Roman emperor ever waged against Christianity; nevertheless they maintained their faith, and when toleration came under William and Mary, they still refused to swear allegiance to the British Government because its sovereign, whether saint or sinner, exercised a royal supremacy over the church.

In their new surroundings in America they found many Associate Presbyterians, or Seceders, from Scotland and Ireland. In matters of faith and modes of witnessing for the truth they were at one with them, so when the colonies asserted their independence of the British crown they felt that the barrier of political dissent need no longer keep them apart. Negotiations for a union were at once commenced, and about the 1st of December, 1781, the Reformed Presbytery unanimously adopted the terms of union offered by the Associate Presbytery of New York, and all its ministers and fully organized congregations went into the union, which was consummated October 31, 1782, and by which the *Associate Reformed Church* was formed. Most of the isolated societies which were not under direct pastoral influence took no part in this union, but went on as before, and wrote to the fatherland for a supply of ministers. In 1789 the Rev. James Reid, of Scotland, visited America and examined the whole field from New York to South Carolina, and then returned home and reported his observations. The Rev. Mr. McGarragh was sent out in

1791 from Ireland, and Rev. William King in 1792 from Scotland. They were authorized to manage the affairs of the Covenanting Church as a *committee* of the Presbytery of Scotland. Others soon joined them, and in 1798 a new *Reformed Presbytery of America* was organized, and through it the Reformed Presbyterian Church has been continued to the present time.

CHAPTER II.

THE ASSOCIATE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

In 1690, after the long and sore persecution under Charles II. and James II. was terminated by the accession of William and Mary to the throne, Presbyterianism was reëstablished in Scotland. So great was the desire of the government to avoid as much ecclesiastical excitement as possible, that the General Assembly allowed several hundred of the Episcopal incumbents to retain their charges, upon the single condition that they would submit to that very Presbyterian system which they had helped the persecutors to overthrow. Of these men Bishop Burnet says: "They were the worst preachers I ever heard; they were ignorant to a reproach, and many of them were clearly vicious. They were a disgrace to their orders, and were indeed the dregs and the refuse of the northern parts. Those of them that rose above contempt and scandal were men of such violent tempers that they were as much hated as the others were despised." The result of such politic lenity was a rapid growth of error and corruption in the church, so that within thirty years Professor Simson was permitted to teach in the divinity chair of Glasgow some of the worst errors of heathenism, and yet was allowed to retain the emoluments of his office and remain in the communion of the church until his death.

The church being established by law, the settlement of its ministers was not by the election of the members, but by the presentation of a patron. As the corrupt party

increased in number and power they made the system of patronage more and more oppressive, until the people ceased to have either power or privilege, and even the poor boon of remonstrance was withdrawn.

At this stage of affairs some of the evangelical ministers republished "The Marrow of Modern Divinity," by Edward Fisher, of England, believing that its circulation would help the cause of truth. This roused the indignation of the Moderates, and in the Assembly of 1720 they condemned a number of propositions which they claimed to have gathered from that book. Against this act twelve of the most eminent ministers of the church prepared a "Representation," or explanatory protest. These men were James Hog, Thomas Boston, John Bonar, John Williamson, James Kid, Gabriel Wilson, Ebenezer Erskine, Ralph Erskine, James Wardlaw, Henry Davidson, John Bathgate, and William Hunter. Their paper was considered in 1722, and resulted in the condemnation of the alleged doctrines of the "Marrow"; and, following the example of Rome in its "Index Expurgatorius," the Assembly "strictly prohibited and discharged all ministers of the church to use, by writing, preaching, catechising, or otherwise teaching, either publicly or privately, the positions condemned, or what may be equivalent to them or of like tendency, under pain of the censures of the church conformed to the merit of their offense." The "Representers" were also rebuked and admonished by the moderator. That the Moderates might have a free and unrestrained course, the Barrier Act, or Law of Overtures, was suspended, and protests and dissents were no longer recorded.

The evangelical party, being thus shut out from the judicatories of the church, concluded to carry the cause into the pulpit. The Rev. Ebenezer Erskine, as modera-

tor, opened the meeting of the Synod of Perth and Stirling, on the 18th of October, 1732, with a sermon from the text: "The stone which the builders refused is become the headstone of the corner" (Psalm cxviii. 22). He treated of the church as a building, of Christ as the foundation of the building, of the builders, of their error in refusing Christ, and of the glory to which Christ will be exalted as the headstone in spite of all the attempts of these builders to thrust him out of his place. In his remarks upon the Jewish builders he said some things that appeared not very complimentary to some of the builders before him, and which caused considerable hard feeling toward the preacher. He was immediately called to an account for what was regarded as the injurious reflections contained in his sermon, and after a warm discussion of three days' continuance he was adjudged by a majority of six to be rebuked. From this sentence he appealed to the General Assembly. His son-in-law, the Rev. James Fisher, joined him in this appeal. Fourteen others dissented and protested, among whom were the Rev. Alexander Moncrieff and the Rev. William Wilson. When the case came up in the Assembly of May, 1733, Messrs. Moncrieff and Wilson were denied a hearing in behalf of their dissent, and Mr. Fisher in support of his protest. Mr. Erskine alone was heard, and the Assembly sustained the Synod, and ordered him to be rebuked at their own bar in order to terminate the process. He submitted to the rebuke, and then immediately produced a paper in which he protested against the censure which had been administered, as importing that he had in his sermon departed from the Word of God and the standards of the church. He also claimed that he should "be at liberty to preach the same truths of God, and to testify against the same or like defections of the church upon all proper oc-

casions." In this protest he was joined by Messrs. Moncrieff, Wilson, and Fisher.

The protest was refused a hearing, as was the custom of that day, and laid upon the table unread. It accidentally fell to the floor, and a member near by picked it up and read it, and then called upon the Assembly to stop proceedings and take notice of "the insufferable insult" offered by the presentation of such a paper. The protest was then publicly read, and McKerrow says: "The whole Assembly was in an uproar. A paper containing high treason against the sovereign or blasphemy against the majesty of Heaven could not have called forth a greater burst of indignation." The four brethren were ordered to appear before the Assembly on the next morning, which they did, and, refusing to withdraw their paper, were directed to appear before the Commission in August next, "and then show their sorrow for their conduct and misbehavior in offering to protest, and in giving in to the Assembly the paper by them subscribed, and that they then retract the same." If they refused to do this, the Commission was directed to proceed to a higher censure. When the Commission met in August the brethren refused to retract their protest, and were suspended "from the exercise of the ministerial functions and all the parts thereof." The brethren continued the exercise of their ministry without any regard to this act of suspension, and received considerable encouragement in so doing. At the meeting of the Commission in November petitions were sent in from seven synods and a number of presbyteries in their favor, and a large portion of the Commission were in favor of delay. A motion to postpone was lost by the casting vote of the moderator. It was finally carried to "loose the relation of the said four ministers to their charges, and declare them no longer ministers of this

church, and to prohibit all ministers of this church to employ them in any ministerial function." Seven of the ministers of the Commission protested against this act, and avowed their willingness to hold ministerial communion with them.

The four exscinded ministers handed in a paper declaring themselves under the necessity of SECEDING from the church, and they soon afterward met and organized as a Presbytery, which they styled the *Associated*, and published what was known as the "Extra-Judicial Testimony." In this they defended their action on the ground of the evils in the church, and the fact that they were thrust out because of their testifying against these evils. They performed no judicial act for three years, hoping that something would be done by which they could consistently return to the church. There was a strong evangelical party in the church which sympathized with them, and gave very free expression to their sympathy. The Assembly of 1734 was somewhat alarmed and anxious as to the consequences, and tried to conciliate. The Barrier Acts were restored; the act prohibiting the recording of reasons of dissent and the act anent the planting of churches were declared to be "no longer binding rules of this church"; and the Synod of Perth and Stirling was directed to remove the censures from the four brethren and to restore them to their charges. The Synod did all this on the 2d of July, "with one voice and consent," and then elected Mr. Erskine, in his absence, to the moderator's chair. The four brethren considered these overtures of conciliation long and earnestly, and finally concluded to decline them, upon the simple ground that only some errors were corrected, while the principle which produced these errors remained unchanged, and consequently promised only a temporary peace. The succeeding Assemblies

fully vindicated the Seceders in their course, for some of the evangelical party felt constrained in a few years to make another secession and form the Relief Church

In the summer of 1736 the Associated brethren began to act judicially as a Presbytery, and on the 3d of December they emitted an elaborate "Judicial Testimony." Little societies quickly sprang up in many places, which applied to them for ordinances; and as there were young men in the universities who sympathized with them, Mr. Wilson was appointed as their professor of divinity. In 1737 Thomas Mair, of Orwell, and Ralph Erskine, of Dunfermline, joined the Presbytery, and in 1738 Thomas Nairne, of Abbotshall, and James Thompson, of Burntisland, making eight in all. The Assembly of 1739 cited them all to appear and answer for schism, and the eight brethren presented themselves before the bar of the Assembly as a constituted Presbytery, and formally declined the authority of the judicatories of the church. The Assembly of 1740 proceeded to depose them from the ministry, and ordered their expulsion by force from their churches and manses. This terminated all connection with the kirk.

The increase of ministers and churches was such that in 1744 there were twenty-six settled charges. These were so scattered that in that year the body was divided into three Presbyteries, subordinate to a Synod. During the next year the question was started as to the lawfulness of taking certain burgess oaths which contained this clause: "Here I protest, before God and your lordships, that I profess and allow with my heart the true religion presently professed within this realm, and authorized by the laws thereof; I shall abide thereat, and defend the same to my life's end, renouncing the Roman religion called Papistry." The Synod was nearly equally divided as to the lawfulness

of their members' taking this oath. One party insisted that the expression "the true religion presently professed" simply designated the Protestant religion in contradistinction to the Roman. The other contended that it implied allegiance to the kirk in its present corrupted condition. The controversy waxed so hot that in 1747 the Synod divided, and the *Secession* was continued in two branches, the Burgher and the Anti-Burgher, until September 8, 1820, when they were reunited to form the United Secession Church.

CHAPTER III.

THE ASSOCIATE CHURCH IN AMERICA.

As early as 1742 the Associate Presbytery of Scotland received a petition from Londonderry, Chester County, Pa., asking that an ordained minister or a probationer might be sent to labor in that district. But the few brethren had none to send. In 1750 and 1751 petitions were sent to the Anti-Burgher Synod asking for a supply for the eastern counties of Pennsylvania. After some failures to accept appointments, Mr. Alexander Gellatly consented, and was licensed and ordained as the first Associate missionary to America. The Rev. Andrew Arnot, pastor at Midholm, offered to go with him, with the liberty of returning at the end of a year, if he so desired. They sailed in the summer of 1753, and found a wide and promising field in the valley of the Susquehanna. On the 2d of November, 1753, they organized a Presbytery, which they styled the "Associate Presbytery of Pennsylvania," subordinate to the Associate Anti-Burgher Synod of Scotland. They were at once invited by the Presbytery of New Castle of the "New Light" Presbyterian Synod of New York to cast in their lot with them. This was of course declined, and that Presbytery forthwith issued a warning to their congregations against these men as schismatics and separatists, and as being heretical on the gospel offer, the nature of faith, and sundry other things. Mr. Gellatly answered this warning in a publication of two hundred and forty pages. Messrs. Finley and Smith, of

the New Castle Presbytery, replied, and Mr. Gellatly followed with a second answer of two hundred and three pages. The controversy was of great service to the new brethren, for it advertised them very extensively.

In September, 1754, the Rev. James Proudfoot arrived from Scotland and joined the Presbytery, and Mr. Arnot, having finished his year, returned to his pastoral charge in Scotland. The mission of these three men cost the Synod about five hundred dollars, and, considering the fewness and the feebleness of its congregations, it was a very generous contribution to the cause of missions. Mr. Gellatly was settled over the congregation of Octorara, in Lancaster County, and also over Oxford, in Chester County, until relieved of the latter by Mr. Henderson. Mr. Proudfit traveled among the churches for three or four years, and then settled at Pequea, in Lancaster County. In 1758 Matthew Henderson arrived from Scotland and settled at Oxford, giving one third of his time to Pencader, in the edge of the State of Delaware, near the present town of Newark. On the 12th of March, 1761, Mr. Gellatly died, and during the same year John Mason, minister, and Robert Annan and John Smart, licentiates, arrived. Mr. Mason was immediately settled in New York City, over a congregation which had sent for him; Mr. Annan was ordained and installed June 8, 1763, at Marsh Creek, in Adams County, Pa., and Mr. Smart, after a year or two, returned to Scotland. In the autumn of 1763 William Marshall arrived, and was, August 30, 1765, ordained and installed at Deep Run, in Bucks County, Pa.

Thus far all the Associate ministers were from the Anti-Burgher Synod of Scotland, but in 1764 the Rev. Thomas Clarke, M.D., and over two hundred of his congregation in Ballybay, Ireland, arrived and finally located in Salem, N. Y. Dr. Clarke was from the Burgher Presbytery in

Ireland, which was subordinate to the Burgher Synod of Scotland, but he did not wish to continue a division in the Secession, which could have no possible grounds or significancy in this country, where there were no burgess oaths, so he applied at once to the Associate Presbytery of Pennsylvania for admission. After some delay and considerable negotiations as to terms, he was admitted, September 2, 1765, upon the following conditions, viz.:

1. That Mr. Clarke shall not, either publicly or privately, justify the burgess oath, or any writing published in defense of it, nor give countenance to any in taking such a step; and the Presbytery agrees to drop the whole controversy concerning it.

2. That Mr. Clarke concur with this Presbytery in adhering to the National Covenant and the Solemn League, with the Bond of renewing the same, together with the Act, Declaration and Testimony, as they were owned and professed before the unhappy division, and that he endeavors to prosecute the ends of them in his place and station.

3. That Mr. Clarke shall not endeavor to obtain a Presbytery in America constituted in opposition to this Presbytery, nor countenance any attempt toward erecting such a Presbytery.

4. That Mr. Clarke shall not preach upon an invitation from people who are in full communion with or have made application to this Presbytery for sermon without their allowance, nor countenance any brother in taking such a step.

5. That Mr. Clarke shall acknowledge that this Presbytery and the Synod in Scotland, to which it is subordinate, are lawful courts of Jesus Christ; and the Presbytery likewise acknowledges that the other Synod is a lawful court of Christ; nor do the Presbytery desire that he renounce his subjection to that Synod according to these terms.

6. That the members of this Presbytery shall not, either publicly or privately, justify the act condemning the burgess oath, or the censures passed against some of Mr. Clarke's brethren by their Synod, or justify any writing in defense of said censures, or countenance any step tending thereto.

7. That the Presbytery and Mr. Clarke shall endeavor to strengthen one another in pursuance of these terms, and to bring about a general healing of the unhappy division in a Scriptural way.

8. That our Secession, we must acknowledge, is such as is declared to be in the ground of secession contained in the first "Testimony," which is approved of and made judicial in the "Judicial Testimony," and is substantially declared in our Declaration, and so we look upon ourselves as standing upon the same footing as before the rupture.

9. That upon subscribing to these terms the Presbytery and Mr. Clarke shall in the meantime and henceforward maintain a brotherly communication with each other.

McKerrow, in his "History of the Secession Church," states:

In September, 1765, an application was received from some of the inhabitants of New Cambridge, in the county of Albany and province of New York, representing in strong terms their destitute condition with regard to the gospel, and craving that the Synod (Burgher) would send them without delay a minister to break among them the bread of life, at the same time promising to give the person who should be sent a suitable maintenance.

The Synod having taken this position into consideration, as well as the application formerly made from Philadelphia, resolved both to send an ordained minister and a preacher, but delayed making the appointment until the month of November, when they were again to meet for the dispatch of business. On the 12th of November the Synod appointed Mr. Telfair to go on a mission to America early in the spring, and agreed to send with him Samuel Kinloch, probationer. They were to remain in America till April, 1767, unless the Synod should see fit to recall or extend their appointments. They were to preach not only at Philadelphia and New Cambridge, but in any other places where they might find an opening.

In May, 1767, the Synod received letters from the congregations in Philadelphia and New Cambridge, expressing their warmest thanks for the benefits they had received from the ministrations of Messrs. Telfair and Kinloch, and beseeching that the Synod would either permit these brethren to continue among them, or, should they be removed, that others might be speedily sent to supply their places.

In the spring of 1766 Messrs. Telfair and Kinloch arrived, and the former took charge of the Burgher congregation in Shippen Street, Philadelphia, while the latter made his headquarters in New Cambridge, now Cambridge, Washington County, N. Y. When their appointed year had expired they concluded to remain permanently in this country, and made application to the Associate Presbytery of Pennsylvania for admission to its membership. A meeting of Presbytery was called, to meet June 9, 1767, at Pequea, Pa., "that steps might be taken for making the coalescence between this Presbytery and Mr. Telfair and

Mr. Kinloch complete." The minute of that meeting runs thus:

> They proceeded to consider the terms of agreement between them and the Rev. Thomas Clarke, of Stillwater in the county of Albany, to which, with some small variation, the Rev. Mr. Telfair, minister of the gospel in Monteith in Scotland, with Mr. S. Kinloch, probationer, did agree.

This action was not satisfactory to the Anti-Burgher Synod in Scotland, where the necessities of the case could neither be understood nor appreciated, and where the wounds of division and broken friendships still existed; so at its meeting in 1770 this coalescence was pointedly condemned, and three ministers were appointed as new missionaries to America. They were instructed to require the Presbytery to "annul" its union with the Burghers, and to "obliterate their minute" respecting it. And if the Presbytery should refuse to do this, then they and any of the brethren that chose to join with them should constitute themselves into a new Presbytery and hold no fellowship with the backsliders. A clear indication of the feeling and temper of the times. John Proudfoot, James Ramsey, and John Rodgers were appointed to this mission. The first two declined, and John Smith, of Stirling, volunteered to go with Mr. Rodgers. They sailed in the late autumn, and on the 4th of June, 1771, laid their instructions before the Presbytery at its meeting in Pequea, Pa. The Presbytery was considerably embarrassed to know what to do. The congregations in Salem, Cambridge, and Philadelphia were Burgher, but had put themselves under the care of the Presbytery. All the other congregations had been organized under Anti-Burgher auspices, and yet they all contained more or less Burghers in their membership. To introduce the old-country controversy into the Presbytery would be sure to stir up strife and division everywhere. Hence in the first term of union

with the three Burgher ministers it is expressly stipulated that this controversy shall be buried; and in the third term, that no antagonistic Burgher Presbytery should ever be organized.

The question now was to reconcile obedience to the Synod in Scotland, which, without understanding the exigencies of the case, had issued a peremptory order, and to preserve peace among themselves and prosper their work. The Presbyterial record is by no means clear and definite, and reads thus:

> The Presbytery met at Mr. Proudfoot's house in the evening of the 5th of June, and constituted with prayer *ut supra sederunt* excepting the elder. They entered upon the consideration of the instructions given by the Synod to Messrs. Rodgers and Smith, and after long reasoning on that head, and application by a brother to the throne of grace for direction, they find that in making the coalescence with the Burgher brethren they have taken some steps inconsistent with their subordination to the Synod to which they have been and are subordinate, and they are determined that for the future they shall have no ministerial communion with them until they lay the case before the Synod and receive instructions from them. But they do not judge it for edification, in their present peculiar circumstances, explicitly to comply with the Synod's demand, which motion was unanimously agreed to by the Presbytery. And Mr. Rodgers and Mr. Smith, recognizing that the Synod's demand was materially granted, and being extremely loath to pursue any measures that might impede general edification, took their seats in the Presbytery.

In other words, we cannot "annul" and "obliterate" what is past, but all such cases in the future shall be referred first to the Synod. This is in accordance with the facts. Mr. Kinloch had already, in 1769, returned to Scotland, and was now pastor of the Burgher congregation in Paisley, where he remained for many years. Mr. Telfair had also returned to Scotland and resumed his charge at the Bridge of Teith, and actually offered information in the matter to the Synod in 1770, and they refused to hear him. So Dr. Clarke, of Salem, was the only one of the Burgher ministers left, and his connection with

the Presbytery was never disturbed or questioned. Dr. Annan, who was present in the meeting of the Presbytery, makes this comment: "The two gentlemen behaved prudently; they did not insist on their instructions, and the Presbytery, without a dissenting voice, declared against obeying them." This ended the Burgher controversy in America, and the Secession Church here has ever since been one; although the ministers received from abroad were all from the Anti-Burgher Church up to the events of 1782, and the rebuilding of the Associate Church in America after that was from the same source. When Burgher ministers began to immigrate, after the Revolutionary War was closed, they connected with the Associate Reformed Church.

Mr. Smith soon settled on the Octorara, Mr. Rodgers at Big Spring, Cumberland County. In 1772 James Clarkson arrived, and settled during the next year at Muddy Creek, York County. In 1773 William Logan came and settled at Mexico, Juniata County, and John Murray at Marsh Creek, Adams County. Several others came from Ireland. David Annan, a young brother of Dr. Robert, came from Scotland, and was principally educated in this country, and was ordained in 1778, and settled at Peterborough, in New Hampshire. The increase of ministers and the great inconvenience of their meeting together in one place led to a division of the Presbytery, and those in New York and New England were organized on the 20th of May, 1776, as the Presbytery of New York, coördinate with the Presbytery of Pennsylvania, and subordinate to the Synod of Scotland.

In the struggle between the colonies and Great Britain all the ministers of the Associate and the Reformed churches joined heartily with the former. On the 2d of July, 1777, Mr. Cuthbertson preached to a large congre-

gation of Covenanters, from Jeremiah iv. 2, and then led them in taking an oath of fidelity to the struggling colonies; and Drs. Mason and Annan were particularly forward in the exhibition of their patriotism, and both served for a time as chaplains in the Continental army. The idea very soon and very naturally suggested itself to these men, that if political independence of foreign control would be a good thing, ecclesiastical independence of a far-off power would not be a bad thing. The question was at once started, and mainly urged by Dr. Annan, whether both branches of Scottish Dissenters in this country could not be united so as to form one national church organization, independent in government of all foreign control—a free church in a free state. To this end overtures were made to the Reformed brethren, and kindly entertained. The first conference of this subject was held September 30, 1777, in Donegal, Lancaster County, Pa., and others were held from time to time until the spring of 1780, when the Associate Presbytery of New York adopted certain terms previously discussed, which were sent to the other presbyteries for concurrence. The Reformed Presbytery, November 29, 1781, adopted the same, as follows:

1. That Jesus Christ died for the elect.

2. That there is an appropriation in the nature of faith.

3. That the gospel is addressed indiscriminately to sinners of mankind.

4. That the righteousness of Christ is the alone condition of the covenant of grace.

5. That civil government originates with God, the Creator, and not with Christ, the Mediator.

6. That the administration of the kingdom of Providence is given into the hands of Jesus Christ, the Mediator; and magistry, the ordinance appointed by the Moral Governor of the world, to be the prop of civil order among men as well as other things, is rendered subservient by the Mediator to the welfare of his spiritual kingdom, the church, and has the sanctified use of it and of every common benefit, through the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ.

7. That the law of nature and the moral law revealed in the Scriptures are substantially the same, although the latter expresses the will of God more evidently and clearly than the former; and therefore magistrates among

Christians ought to be regulated by the general directory of the Word as to the execution of their office.

8. That the qualifications of justice, veracity, etc., required in the law of nature for the being of a magistrate, are also more explicitly revealed as necessary in the Holy Scriptures. But a religious test, any further than an oath of fidelity, can never be essentially necessary for the being of a magistrate, except where the people make a condition of government.

9. That both parties, when united, shall adhere to the Westminster Confession of Faith, the Catechisms, the Directory for Worship, and propositions concerning church government.

10. That they shall claim the full exercise of church discipline, without dependence upon foreign judicatories.

These propositions had been formulated in 1779, at Pequea, and soon afterward the Presbytery of Pennsylvania adopted the first five and postponed the consideration of the others. On the 13th of June, 1782, the Presbytery took final action, and as a substitute for the remaining propositions adopted the following, which was regarded by all as being of similar import, viz.:

1. Election, redemption, and application are of equal extent, and for the elect alone.

2. Magistry is derived from God, as the Creator and Governor of the world, and the profession of the true religion is not essential to the being of civil magistrates; and whereas protection and allegiance are reciprocal, and as the United States of America, while they protect us in life and property, at the same time do not impose anything sinful on us, we therefore judge it our duty to acknowledge the government of these States in all lawful commands; that we may lead quiet and peaceable lives in all godliness and honesty.

3. The above proposition is not to be understood to contradict that proposition relative to civil government, in which the Associate Presbytery of New York and the Reformed Presbytery have agreed, but only as a plain and undisguised explication of one point of truth, in which we have the best reason to suppose that the whole body is united.

4. As no opposition in sentiment relative to the important duty of covenanting appears on either side, it is mutually agreed that the consideration of it be referred to the counsels and deliberations of the whole body.

5. Though no real or practical subordination of the Presbytery to the Associate Synod of Edinburgh, in a consistency with Presbyterian government, can be pleaded, yet, from the most wise and important considerations, the former connections, whatever they may have been, shall remain as before, notwithstanding this coalescence.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ASSOCIATE CHURCH AFTER 1782.

THIS basis of union was not adopted unanimously by the Associate Presbytery of Pennsylvania at its meeting in June, 1782. Mr. Marshall, of Philadelphia, and Mr. Clarkson, of York County, ministers, and Messrs. Robert Hunter, James Thompson, and Alexander Moor, ruling elders, protested against it and appealed to the Associate Synod of Scotland. This protest was at first admitted by the Presbytery, but on a review of it, as it contained an appeal, it was refused admittance because the majority would no longer acknowledge their subordination to any foreign court. The protestors then withdrew, and elected a new moderator and clerk, and claimed to be the true and original Associate Presbytery of Pennsylvania, on the ground of their loyalty to the faith and discipline of the Associate Church. Their appeal was heard by the Synod in Scotland, and their conduct was approved, and new missionaries were sent out to them to aid in rebuilding the cause. John Anderson arrived in 1783, Thomas Beveridge in 1784, David Goodwillie and Archibald Whyle in 1788, John Cree and David Somerville in 1790, Robert Laing in 1795, John Banks in 1796. In 1789 Mr. Henderson returned to them from the Associate Reformed Church, and Mr. Smith in 1795.

In the summer of 1784 the Presbytery resolved to prepare a "Testimony" suited to their circumstances in this country, and appointed Messrs. Anderson and Beveridge

to draft it. A "Narrative" and "Testimony" were prepared, principally by Mr. Beveridge, and enacted and published the same year. The subordination of the Presbytery to the Synod in Scotland was found at once to be inconvenient and disadvantageous. It was too far away, too difficult of access, and too ignorant of local surroundings and emergencies. So the Presbytery adopted the "Testimony" without consulting the Synod. For this independent action considerable dissatisfaction was expressed, and an act was adopted in 1786 by the Synod upon the subject; but, realizing some of the difficulties in the way, it claimed very little more than what might be called brotherly oversight which one church might exercise over another. The subordination of the Presbytery to the Synod in Scotland was never of any practical importance, and soon became virtually a dead letter.

In 1791 the Presbytery passed an act respecting public covenanting, in which it was claimed that the obligations of the Scottish Covenants descended to the posterity of those that joined in them. This act was afterward incorporated in the "Testimony," and so remained as an organic feature of the church, and in 1792 the members of the Presbytery engaged in the duty of covenanting in connection with the congregation in New York. And when the Presbytery had grown into a Synod, it, at Pittsburg in 1829, and again in Philadelphia in 1830, also engaged in public solemn covenanting. One great design of the Synod in doing this was to encourage their congregations to follow their example. How far this design was successful there are no means of ascertaining, but it is believed that at different times this ordinance has been observed in a majority of the oldest and largest congregations of the church.

In 1796 the Presbytery passed an act against occasional

communion, which ever afterward remained the law of the church. Feeling that the supply of ministers from abroad was inadequate to their wants, the Presbytery took measures to encourage young men to seek the ministry, and, as an aid thereto, they elected, April 21, 1794, Dr. John Anderson, of Service, Beaver County, Pa., their professor of theology, and erected a two-story building as a dormitory for the students. He continued to discharge the duties of his office as sole professor until 1819, when the infirmities of age compelled him to resign.

In answer to an application made by sundry individuals in the State of Kentucky to the General Associate Synod of Scotland, Andrew Fulton and Robert Armstrong were sent out as missionaries in the autumn of 1797, and in the spring of 1798 arrived at their field of labor. After surveying their ground in Kentucky and Tennessee, they organized themselves, according to synodic direction, into a Presbytery, the Associate Presbytery of Kentucky, November 28, 1798, coördinate with the Presbytery of Pennsylvania and subordinate to the Associate Synod of Edinburgh, Scotland.

In consequence of the scattered condition of the congregations and ministers of the Presbytery of Pennsylvania, they could rarely meet oftener than once a year, and not all of them even then; so most of the ordinary business was transacted at what were called *interim* meetings, where two or three neighboring ministers with their elders were allowed to meet at their convenience and attend to local business. This arrangement was not exactly Presbyterian, and did not give complete satisfaction, and the Presbytery at its meeting in Philadelphia, May 1, 1800,

Resolved, That this Presbytery will, if the Lord permit, constitute themselves into a Synod, or Court of Review, known and designated by the name of the Associate Synod of North America, at next ordinary meeting, which is

appointed to be held at Philadelphia the third Wednesday of May, 1801, at eleven o'clock; that Mr. Marshall open the meeting with a sermon, and then constitute the Synod, the rest of the day to be employed in solemn prayer and fasting, Mr. J. Smith to pray first, and then Mr. Clarkson, Mr. Pringle to close.

The Presbytery of Kentucky agreed to coöperate in this movement.

The Synod met May 2, 1801, in Philadelphia, and was opened and constituted as arranged, and John Smith was elected moderator and Francis Pringle stated clerk. The Synod was divided into the four Presbyteries of Cambridge, Philadelphia, Chartiers, and Kentucky. The Synod enacted, "That none be licensed to preach the gospel, or ordained to the office of the holy ministry among us, but such as have sworn the Covenant engagements entered into in the Secession Church, or declare their readiness to do so when opportunity offers, and subscribe said declaration." This remained the law of the church for many years, and was never repealed, although it finally became inoperative through neglect. Ministers continued to arrive from Scotland and Ireland, and others were educated at the seminary at Service, and the church grew slowly but steadily, and new Presbyteries were erected from time to time as needed. The territorial extent of the church became so great that the question of dividing into subsynods was twice submitted to the church in overture, and both times rejected.

Messrs. Fulton and Armstrong had not been two years in Kentucky until they felt painfully the evil of slaveholding, and applied to the Synod to issue a warning in reference to it. The Synod complied with the request, and pronounced slaveholding a moral evil, and urged the necessity of fully instructing the people in reference to its nature. This the brethren in Kentucky tried faithfully

to do, but with very little apparent success, and those of antislavery views began to move north of the Ohio River. Finally, in 1815, Mr. Fulton followed with the remaining part of his congregation to Jefferson County, Ind., and Mr. Armstrong took his to Greene County, O. This solved the question pretty thoroughly as far as Kentucky was concerned; but sundry congregations had been organized farther south, and the Presbytery of the Carolinas had been erected in 1803. The difficulty continued, but the location was changed. There were congregations in the States of Tennessee, Virginia, North and South Carolina, and they were involving themselves more and more with slavery. Some of the people in Greene County, O., who had removed from Kentucky, petitioned the Synod in 1808 to exclude slaveholders from the communion of the church. This led to the adoption of an act in 1811 which declared it to be a moral evil to hold negroes in bondage, and directed the members of the church to set them at liberty, or, if this could not be done according to the laws of the State, to treat them as if free in respect to food, clothing, instruction, and wages. It was also enacted that those who refused to comply with these directions were unworthy of the fellowship of the church. The provisions of this act were not complied with, and the subject kept troubling the Synod from time to time until 1831, when a more stringent act was passed, by which all slaveholders were forthwith excluded from communion. This act was regarded by a very respectable minority of the Synod as harsh and severe, and practically accomplished nothing. In 1840 a letter was addressed to the congregations of the South, in which allowance was made for those who could not emancipate their slaves, *provided* they would agree to what was called *moral emancipation*. The moderator, the Rev. Thomas S. Kendall, was sent as a commissioner from

Synod to read this letter to the congregations; but instead of conciliating the feelings of those holding slaves, a riot was excited in one of the congregations in South Carolina, and while he was engaged in the public worship they seized him, and by an act of lynch law expelled him from the State. This brought on a crisis, and the Presbytery of the Carolinas declared itself independent of the Synod. Many of the ministers moved north, and a large part of the members, preferring their church to slavery, passed to north of the Ohio River, and planted new congregations and strengthened old ones in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Iowa. The church was thus completely and permanently purged of the sin of slavery.

The Synod did not have any fixed and definite rules of discipline, but followed custom and tradition until 1817, when the first Book of Discipline was adopted. It contained a chapter on "censurable offenses," among which were enumerated profaning the Sabbath, the use of spirituous liquors, profaning the name of God in common conversation, the abuse of lots, the use of charms, the diversions of the stage, and promiscuous dancing.

In 1820 the two branches of the Secession in Scotland united and formed the United Secession Church. Against this union Professor Paxton and eight other ministers of the Anti-Burghers protested, and refused to enter. Previous to this, in 1806, when the Anti-Burgher Synod adopted a "New Testimony," Dr. McCree and four others left that church and constituted themselves as the *Constitutional Presbytery*. In 1827 Professor Paxton's party united with this Presbytery and formed the Synod of *Original Seceders*. The Synod in this country was very much excited over the union of 1820, because of their intimate relation to one of the contracting parties, and debated the matter year after year until 1826, when, by

the casting vote of the moderator, they condemned the "said union, as a defection from a covenanted reformation," and at the next meeting resolved to continue in union with the Protestors, and in 1832 with the Original Seceders. In 1852 the Original Seceders united with the Free Church of Scotland, which threw the Synod in this country out of union with any Scottish organization; and as the churches in the two countries had gradually grown somewhat apart, no further union was ever sought. The Secession Churches in Scotland became a little more kindly in feeling and liberal in opinion as time passed on, while the Synod in America retained substantially its original conservatism.

The Associate Reformed Synod of the West in 1820, one year after its organization as an independent Synod, asked the Associate Synod for a conference on the subject of a union of the two Synods. The request was granted, and conferees were appointed by both bodies. They met and agreed upon a basis of six short articles, but the Associate Synod failed to confirm the terms, and the whole matter fell through. The perpetual obligation of the Scottish Covenants seemed to present the greatest difficulty in the way of union. But the real difficulty arose from the fact that the Synods were a little shy of each other, and while they felt their oneness and realized the duty of union, they did not have that full and generous confidence in each other which might be necessary for a hearty union. Old sores are hard to heal.

In 1841 a difficulty of ten years' growth finally terminated in a schism, and an independent Synod, under the leadership of Alexander Bullions, D.D., and Rev. Andrew Stark, LL.D., was organized. But time mollified feelings, and in 1854 a happy reunion was consummated. A minute history of its causes and successive steps is not

necessary in this place. The controversy involved some important principles in church government, and of submission to lawful authority, even when not lovingly administered. But no doctrine of grace or distinctive principle of the church was ever brought into question. It is also a pleasure for the historian to be able to state that all the prominent actors on both sides were good men, and that the Holy Spirit set the seal of his approval most unequivocally upon the general work of their lives. The treasure, however, was in earthen vessels, and, like Moses and David and Peter, these men had their infirmities and weaknesses; but "he that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone."

In 1799 the Associate Reformed Church adopted its "Constitution and Standards," and it modified the doctrine of the Westminster Confession of Faith "concerning the power of the civil magistrate in matters of religion." Against this action Rev. Alexander McCoy and Rev. Robert Warwick protested and withdrew, and, January, 1801, organized an independent Presbytery, which they named the *Reformed Dissenting Presbytery*. It was confined to western Pennsylvania and Ohio, and in 1851 united with the Associate Synod.

In 1840 the Synod passed an act respecting the traffic in ardent spirits, "advising that no member of the church retail them for ordinary use, and that sessions deal with such members of the church as may be engaged in such traffic, in order to induce them to desist, and that all members of the church refuse any encouragement to those who follow such an employment." In 1843 further action was taken on this subject, and it was unanimously resolved "that church sessions be directed to deal with such members of the church as are found engaged in the manufacture or vending of ardent spirits under such circumstances as

are calculated to bring a reproach upon their profession, and thus constitute an offense in the Scriptural sense of the term, and that such persons be required to abandon it." And in 1857 it was further declared, "that, in the judgment of this Synod, the manufacturing or vending of intoxicating liquors, for the purpose of being used as a common beverage, is a censurable offense."

The Associate Synod in Scotland at an early period of its existence condemned the masonic oath as sinful, both as to its matter and form, and warned all its members against any connection with masonic lodges. This was received as part of the church's inherited faith in this country, and all freemasons have been carefully excluded from the communion of the Associate Church. At the time of the Morgan abduction the Synod in this country repeated the warning against masonry; and in 1846 it was further declared "that we regard connection with the Order of Odd Fellows in the same light as with freemasons, and equally deserving the censure of the church." A warning was also issued at this time against connection with the Order of the Sons of Temperance, because of their vain parades at funerals and processions, their secrecy, the danger of such societies to the community, and the countenance which they give to other societies of a worse character.

In 1842 the Synod entered upon the foreign missionary work, and selected the island of Trinidad as the field of labor. From various causes the enterprise did not prove a success, and they passed over their mission to the Free Church of Scotland and withdrew. They then turned to India, and located at Sialkot, where they were greatly blessed, and the field and work have widened and prospered ever since.

Secession churches are under a constitutional necessity

of being witnessing and testimony-bearing churches, so as to exhibit and illustrate the ground of their independent existence, and their right to exist. The Associate Synod was always true to its ecclesiastical parentage, ready to give a reason for its faith, and outspoken in its defense of the truth as it saw the truth. It had convictions, clear convictions, and courage to maintain them. It testified freely upon different occasions against prevailing evils as they exhibited themselves in church, state, and society.

The Associate Church always enjoined the exclusive use of the inspired Psalter in all formal praise services. The Scotch version of the Book of Psalms came with the church to this country, and ever remained in use, both because of personal attachment to it from long familiarity and tender associations, and also because it was the most accurate versification of the original to be had. But with the increasing culture of the times and improvement in song there came a felt necessity for something better, and under the direction of Synod Dr. Beveridge and others devoted much time and study to the accomplishment of something in this direction. Some progress was made when the union which absorbed the Synod passed this matter over to the new church organization.

The Associate Reformed Church in 1842 made overtures to the Associate Church for an organic union. After fourteen years of negotiation, the latter, in 1856, tendered to the former a basis of union, which was adopted in 1857, and a union was consummated in May, 1858, which formed the United Presbyterian Church of North America. The Associate Church contributed to the new organization 230 ministers, about 300 congregations, and 25,000 communicants. Eleven ministers and a few small congregations refused to enter the union, and have perpetuated a residuary church, which has not increased much.

CHAPTER V.

THE ASSOCIATE REFORMED CHURCH.

As already stated, conferences upon the subject of an organic union of the Reformed and Associate Presbyteries in America began in 1777, and continued for several years. A basis of union which was formulated in 1779, at Pequea, Pa., was unanimously adopted in the spring of 1780 by the Associate Presbytery of New York, and by the Reformed Presbytery, November 29, 1781, and by a majority of the Associate Presbytery of Pennsylvania, June 13, 1782.[1] The three presbyteries met in convention in Philadelphia, on Wednesday, October 30, 1782, for the consummation of the union and the organization of the Associate Reformed Church. They adopted eight articles for the guidance of the Synod which they designed to organize.

On Thursday, the 31st of October, 1782, the Synod of the Associate Reformed Church was formally organized by the election of John Mason, D.D., of New York, as moderator. The presbyteries were rearranged, so that the ministers and congregations in eastern Pennsylvania constituted *The First Presbytery;* those in western Pennsylvania, *The Second Presbytery;* and those in New York and New England, *The Third Presbytery.* The most important business in which the Synod engaged was the consideration of the eight articles agreed upon by the convention which preceded the Synod. These were again

[1] See pp. 172, 173.

discussed *seriatim*, "and after serious deliberation and solemn prayer" were unanimously adopted "as proper to display the principles upon which we intend to act." These articles were as follows:

I. It is the resolution of this Synod to persevere in adhering to the system of truth contained in the Holy Scriptures, exhibited in the Confession of Faith, Catechisms, Larger and Shorter, and to the fundamental principles of gospel worship and ecclesiastical government agreed upon by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, with the assistance of commissioners from the Church of Scotland. This declaration, however, does not extend to the following sections of the Confession of Faith, which define the power of civil government in relation to religion: chap. xx. sec. 4, chap. xxiii. sec. 3, chap. xxxi. sec. 2. These sections are reserved for a candid discussion on some future occasion as God shall be pleased to direct. Nor is it to be construed as a resignation of our rights to adjust the circumstances of public worship and ecclesiastical policy to the station in which Divine Providence may place us. All the members of the Synod acknowledge in the meanwhile that they are under the most sacred obligations to avoid unnecessary criticism upon any of these excellent treatises, which would have a native tendency to weaken their attachment to the truths therein contained. If any of the members of the Synod shall conceive any scruples at any article or articles of the Confession of Faith, Catechisms, Directory of Worship, or Form of Presbyterian Church Government, or shall think they have sufficient reason to make objections thereto, they shall have full liberty to communicate their scruples or objections to their brethren, who shall consider them with impartiality, meekness, and patience, and endeavor to remove them by calm, dispassionate reasoning. No kind of censure shall be inflicted in cases of this nature, unless those scrupling and objecting brethren shall disturb the peace of the church by publishing their opinions to the people, or by urging them in judicatories with irritating and schismatic zeal.

II. The ministers and elders in Synod assembled also declare their hearty approbation of the earnest contendings for the faith and magnanimous sufferings in its defense by which our pious ancestors were enabled to distinguish themselves in the last two centuries; that they have an affectionate remembrance of the National Covenant of Scotland, and of the Solemn League and Covenant of Scotland, England, and Ireland, as well-intended engagements to support the cause of civil and religious liberty, and hold themselves bound by divine authority to practice all the moral duties therein contained, according to their circumstances; that public and explicit covenanting with God is a moral duty under the gospel dispensation, to which they are resolved to attend as he shall be pleased to direct; that it is their real intention to carry with them all the judicial testimonies against defections from the faith once delivered to the saints which have been emitted in the present age by their

brethren in Scotland, as far as these testimonies serve to display the truth and comport with the circumstances of our church; and that they will avail themselves of every call to bear appointed testimony against the errors and delusions which prevail in this country.

III. The members of Synod also acknowledge with gratitude that they are bound to honor the religious denominations in Britain to which they belonged, on account of their zeal for the purity of the gospel, and of those laudable efforts to promote it, not only in Britain and Ireland but also in America, and they profess an unfeigned desire to hold an amicable correspondence with all or any of them, and to concur with them in every just and eligible measure for promoting true and undefiled religion.

IV. It is also the resolution of this Synod never to introduce, nor suffer to be introduced, in their church the local controversy about the civil establishment of the Presbyterian religion, and the religious clause of some burgess oaths in Scotland, or any unnecessary disputes about the origin of civil dominion, and the requisites for rendering it legal in circumstances dissimilar to those in which themselves are placed. They esteem themselves bound to detach their religious profession from all foreign connections, and to honor the civil powers of America, conscientiously submitting to them in all their lawful operations.

V. That the abuse of ecclesiastical censures may be effectually prevented, the following General Rule of Discipline is unanimously adopted, namely: That notorious violations of the law of God, and such errors in doctrine as unhinge the Christian profession, shall be the only scandals for which deposition and excommunication shall be passed, and that the highest censures of other offenders shall be a dissolution of the connection between the Synod and the offender.

VI. The terms of admission to fixed communion with the Synod shall be soundness in faith as defined in the above-mentioned Confession and Catechisms, submission to the government and discipline of the church, and a holy conversation.

VII. The members of Synod also acknowledge it to be their duty to treat pious persons of other denominations with great affection and tenderness. They are willing, as God affordeth opportunity, to extend communion to all who in every place call on the name of the Lord Jesus in conformity to his will. But as occasional communion in a divided state of the church may produce great disorders, if it be not conducted with much wisdom and moderation, they esteem themselves, and the people under their inspection, inviolably bound in all ordinary cases to submit to every restriction of their liberty which general edification renders necessary. This article, however, is not to be construed as a license to encourage vagrant preachers who go about under pretense of extraordinary zeal and devotion, and are not subject to the government and discipline of any regular church.

VIII. As the principles of the Synod are detached from the local peculiarities by which the most considerable parts of Presbyterians have been

hitherto distinguished, it is further agreed to reject all such applications for admission to fixed communion with the Synod that may at any time be made by persons belonging to other denominations of Presbyterians, as evidently arise from caprice, personal prejudice, or any other schismatical principles, and that the only admissible application shall be such as shall, upon deliberate examination, be found to arise from a solid conviction of duty, and to discover Christian meekness toward the party whose communion is relinquished, or such as are made by considerable bodies of people who are not only destitute of a fixed gospel ministry, but cannot reasonably be provided for by the denomination of Presbyterians to which they belong. It is, however, thought proper that applications of the last kind shall not be admitted till the bodies by whom they are admitted shall previously inform the judicatories which have the immediate inspection of them of the reasons of their intended application, and shall use all due means to obtain the concurrence of that judicatory.

These articles, originally from the pen of Dr. John Mason, were subsequently revised and slightly amended and published under the unsuitable title of "The Constitution of the Associate Reformed Church." They were popularly known as the "Little Constitution."

A committee was appointed "to prepare and publish, as soon as possible, a concise narrative of the rise and progress of the union between the Associate and Reformed Presbyteries, and the grounds on which they have erected themselves into a Synod, together with an illustration of our constitutional principles as they may judge necessary." This was after the example of all the dissenting churches in Scotland; they prefaced their "Testimony" with a "Narrative," in which they gave an historical defense of their right to exist. But the ministers of the Synod, although educated in Scotland, soon felt the influence of their new surroundings, and realized the change in the character of their fields of labor. They grew to doubt the necessity or propriety of such a document in a free country where there was no Church Establishment to claim a monopoly of the means of grace. They felt that their patent was from heaven, and that wherever there were saints to

be edified and sinners to be saved, there they had a mission. The committee never reported, and the church never cumbered its official literature with an apology for its existence.

In 1787 Drs. Mason, Annan, and Smith were appointed a committee to bring in "An Overture for Illustrating and Defending the Doctrines of the Westminster Confession of Faith." Two years afterward a long report was submitted, in the form of a commentary upon the different chapters of the Confession. It was discussed at great length at the meeting in 1789, and then postponed and further considered at the meeting in 1790, when, instead of a formal adoption, it was unanimously resolved that it is "in substance an excellent and instructive illustration and application of these truths unto the present state of the Church of Christ in America," and warmly recommended it as such to all the people under their inspection.

The standards of the Associate Reformed Church were not a birth, but a growth. Those that organized it had confidence in each other, and united upon the simple basis of the Westminster Standards, which belonged equally to both sides, and left time and experience to decide whether anything should be added, and, if so, what. One of the objects of her founders, and by no means a small one, was to establish an American Church holding the theology of the more conservative churches in Scotland: American in the twofold sense of being independent of all foreign judicatories—a free church in a free state—and also in being denuded and freed from all peculiarities of alien origin and suitableness. They did not wish to transplant an exotic whose special characteristics showed its foreign birth and relations, and which might not be adapted to the soil and climate; but to build a home church, unencumbered with any historical traditions, which could and would adapt

itself to the peculiarities and exigencies of its surroundings. Hence they agreed upon the dogmas of the new organization, and said nothing about the special modes of their exhibition. The Reformed and the Associate Churches had Covenant bonds, and made assent to them a term of communion; they had also a "Judicial Testimony" of equal binding obligation with the Confession of Faith. The Associate Reformed Church started without either of these. This was not an inadvertence or oversight, but a deliberate conviction of duty, and for which they were severely censured by those next of kin in Great Britain and America.

The new church had to fight for her existence, and the result of this contest had much to do in giving shape and character to her forming Standards. She was charged with "burying the Covenants," and "neglecting to insist on their binding obligation upon posterity." To this the Synod replied to the Second Presbytery of the Carolinas:

> The omission in our Constitution of the National Covenant of Scotland and the Solemn League and Covenant cannot wound the most tender conscience when rightly informed. It is not possible, consistently with truth, to make these Covenants, as they stand, a part of the church's "Testimony" in America; and therefore the insertion of them among her terms of communion, instead of promoting the edification of her members, would only serve as a snare for their consciences. To be applicable to the circumstances of this church they must undergo a variety of alterations; but the moment any alteration is admitted into an instrument of solemn compact it ceases to be the *same* instrument. To *modify* the covenants, therefore, is to *destroy* them; they instantly cease to be the same covenants, and the persons who take them thus modified, instead of renewing them, do, in fact, enter into a *new* compact, and by that very act resort to the original principle of covenanting.

The Original Seceders, the successors of McCree and Paxton, and the most conservative body in Scotland, declared at their union with the Free Church in 1852:

> In fine, looking upon *society as possessed of permanent identity* in the sight of God, and on each succeeding age as bound to implement the unexhausted

obligations contracted by national oaths, we believe that the covenants of our ancestors . . . are still binding, and that by them, we, AS A NATION, are laid under additional obligation to maintain the principles and the cause of the Reformation.

This was precisely the position taken by the Associate Reformed fathers seventy years previously—that these covenants were civil and national, and that the descending obligations followed not the individual, but the national, identity; and although the descendants of covenanted ancestors, as citizens of another nation they were not willing to acknowledge special descending obligations.

When it was urged that these covenants embraced moral duties as well as civil and national, and that their performance was made binding upon posterity, the Synod answered in the "Little Constitution" that, "we are bound by the *divine authority* to perform all the moral duties contained in them." That is, whatever is contained in them which is clearly a moral duty we are bound to perform by the divine authority which requires it and imparts to it its character as a *moral* duty. Any further obligation would be a surplusage, and that, too, from an inferior source of authority.

Another difficulty with which the new church had to contend, in adjusting itself to its new surroundings, was the precise manner of testimony-bearing. It is very evident that the founders of the church, through the influence of their early training, felt that there was or might be good reason for the adoption of some kind of a "Judicial Testimony" in addition to the Confession of Faith. Hence the appointment of the two committees already mentioned to draft a "Narrative" and to bring in an illustrative overture. It is just as evident that there was a doubt and a hesitancy in this matter, because the first committee never reported, and the action of the other was

only commended but never adopted. But as they continued to discuss the subject, the Synod became more and more confirmed in its opposition to such an instrument, and finally and fully decided the question in 1797, by the adoption of a long explanatory paper, in which they admit the duty of testifying for the truth, whether it relates to doctrine, discipline, worship, or manners; but to do so effectively there must be a wise adaptation to the immediate state of the church and society. And that inasmuch as there is a constant change going on in the current of thought and the manners and customs of society, old errors fading away and new errors springing up, a permanent "Judicial Testimony" will not meet the exigencies that may arise from time to time. It would soon be lumbered with things of no present practical interest, and grow more and more deficient in reference to new things of pressing importance. The church's life is progressive, and so should be its "Testimony." It must deal with what is, and not with what was.

As witnesses of the Most High, Christians are especially bound to avow and to defend those truths which are more immediately decried, and to oppose those errors which immediately prevail. This is termed by the Spirit of God being *established in the* PRESENT *truth.* It is the very essence of a judicious "Testimony," nor is there any way in which judicatories can so well maintain it as in serious and Scriptural *occasional* acts. Of this method of testifying there are plain and numerous traces in the Holy Scriptures and in the pious practice of the primitive church.

To escape from these distinctive peculiarities of Scottish dissent was a very tedious and difficult thing; and because the Synod would not include the Scottish Covenants in its Standards, and declined to issue a "Judicial Testimony" of the Scottish kind, two of the original founders of the church withdrew and walked no more with her.

It will be recollected that in the first article of the "Little Constitution," where adherence to the Westminster Con-

fession of Faith is professed, the Synod expressly excepted those sections of chapters xx. and xxiii. and xxxi. which define the power of civil government in relation to religion, and reserved them "for candid discussion on some future occasion as God shall be pleased to direct." These sections were under discussion for several years, and then it was finally decided to alter the text of the Confession so as to free it from all traces of Erastianism, and make the church independent of the state in all matters of doctrine, government, and discipline. At the same time and for the same purpose the word *authorizing* was substituted for the word *tolerating* in the enumeration of the sins forbidden by the second commandment, as given in the Larger Catechism.

Sixteen years were thus spent in formulating the Standards of the church; and having settled all things to their mind, the Synod at its meeting at Greencastle, Pa., on the 31st of May, 1799, "judicially ratified" and "declared the aforesaid Confession of Faith, Larger and Shorter Catechisms, together with the Government and Discipline of the Church, and the Directories of Public and Private Worship, to be the Constitution and Standards of the ASSOCIATE REFORMED CHURCH in all matters relating to Doctrine, Government, Discipline, and Worship." They declared this to be their "FIXED TESTIMONY," and that, as emergencies may require, they will "emit *occasional* testimonies in particular acts against errors and delusions." They also fixed the terms of admission to membership in the church to be:

A profession of faith in the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as the perfect and only rule of faith and practice, together with an approbation of the Confession of Faith, Larger and Shorter Catechisms, Form of Church Government, and Directories for Worship, as therein received; a holy life and conversation, and subjection to the Order and Discipline of the church.

In 1786 the congregations in New England were erected into a new Presbytery, known as the Presbytery of Londonderry. On the 25th of October, 1793, this Presbytery coalesced with "The Presbytery of the Eastward," an independent Presbytery, composed of some Irish congregations which still lingered, and the united body still retained the title Presbytery of Londonderry. This was done without the knowledge or authority of the Synod, which still claimed jurisdiction over its New England churches. This new Presbytery, which was composed largely of those who knew nothing of the Associate Reformed Church or its Scottish antecedents, was careful to hold itself aloof from the Synod without any declaration of independence. Its congregations felt the influence of their New England surroundings, and were gradually yielding to congregationalism in the matters of praise and discipline and government, and the Synod rebuked the Presbytery for its laxity, but without accomplishing any reformation. Finally, in 1796, the Synod appointed two of its ministers to visit the Presbytery and try to reclaim them. This committee was providentially hindered from going, but Dr. John M. Mason, in its name, wrote a very earnest and able letter, expostulating with the Presbytery for their irregularities, and sustaining the ground taken by the Synod. Dr. Morrison, of Londonderry, N. H., answered for the Presbytery, and stated that the action of the Synod in formulating the standards of the church was not acceptable to their people generally, and then avowed their independence of the Synod, and stated that "this Presbytery consider themselves, with divine aid, competent to all the purposes of judicial authority in the churches or societies under their care; are best acquainted with their customs, temper, and manners, and their situation with respect to other denominations." The Presbytery continued to

maintain its independence, and in 1801 the Synod erased its name from the roll and declared it no longer in its connection. Thus perished Associate Reformed Presyterianism in New England, until resuscitated in 1846 by Dr. Blaikie in Boston. This Londonderry Presbytery remained independent until 1809, when it united with the Presbyterian Church, where it still remains.

The Reformed Dutch and Associate Reformed Churches entertained from the first very kindly feelings for each other, and as early as 1798, and again in 1820, efforts for a union were made, but, for reasons which could scarcely be appreciated now, without success. Nevertheless, the latter gave to the former, from time to time, some of her choicest men, in the persons of Drs. Gosman, Matthews, McMurray, Knox, Strong, etc.

When the church had grown so as to embrace seven Presbyteries, and was scattered from New York to Georgia, it was deemed expedient to organize a *delegated* supreme judicatory, so as to lessen, as far as possible, the slow and toilsome travel required of those upon the outskirts of the church. So in 1802 the whole church was divided into four Synods, containing two Presbyteries each, and subordinate to an annual delegated General Synod. These Synods were New York, and Pennsylvania, and Scioto, and the Carolinas. The General Synod held its first meeting at Greencastle, Franklin County, Pa., on the 30th of May, 1804, and was opened with a sermon by Dr. John M. Mason, after which Alexander Dobbin was chosen moderator, and James Gray stated clerk.

The General Synod did its work smoothly and successfully for six or seven years, and then a serious trouble commenced. It will be recollected that when the Associate Reformed Church was organized, the Westminster Confession of Faith was adopted pure and simple, without

explanation or limitation, excepting the power of the civil magistrate *circa sacra.* Consequently the organic law of the church on the subject of *communion* was contained in the second section of the twenty-sixth chapter, which reads thus:

Saints by profession are bound to maintain a holy fellowship and communion in the worship of God, and in performing such other spiritual services as tend to their mutual edification, as also in relieving each other in outward things, according to their several abilities and necessities; which communion, as God offereth opportunity, is to be extended to all those who in every place call on the name of the Lord Jesus.

The Synod, however, felt the necessity of some limitation, and at its first meeting placed in the "Little Constitution" the following article:

The members of Synod . . . are willing, as God offereth opportunity, to extend communion to all who in every place call on the name of the Lord Jesus, in conformity to his will; but as occasional communion, in a divided state of the church, may produce great disorders if it be not conducted with much wisdom and moderation, they esteem themselves and the people under their inspection inviolably bound, *in all ordinary cases*, to submit to every restriction of their liberty which general edification renders necessary.

To this an explanatory note was appended, in which it is stated that—

The principle expressed in this article is not a new principle adopted by the Synod. It is one of the received principles adopted by the Secession, and it is set in a very strong light in chapter twenty-six of the Confession of Faith. . . . No objection can therefore be justly stated against it as it stands in the Confession of Faith. The application of the principle to particular cases may indeed be attended with some difficulties. We are not, however, accountable for these difficulties, as they arise from the divided state of the Church of Christ. The article is guarded, and cannot, without the most evident perversion, be construed as a license to hold *unscriptural* communion with other churches. It is the intention of the Synod not to go into connections with any denomination which are inconsistent with the spirit of what is usually called the covenanted reformation.

The Overture, which was approved by the Synod in 1790, declares in its illustrations of chapter twenty-six, among other things—

That a temporary, or what is called *occasional*, communion with sister churches may lawfully, in some instances, take place, is what no man of

understanding, who is not much pinched to support some favorite and false hypothesis, will deny. The terms of it are not materially different from the terms of stated communion, only making allowance for a variety in innocent customs and forms. . . . By *occasional communion* we do not mean the admitting a person to our communion whom it would be sinful to continue in it, but a person who, on account of local circumstances, cannot continue in it.

To condense and formulate: the established law of this new church was that *organic union* was not necessary for communion, yet as the Church of Christ was divided, and errors, serious errors, were taught in some of its branches, lest these errors might be countenanced and discipline relaxed, communion in all ordinary cases should be confined to its members, and in *extraordinary* cases extended only to such as might under favorable circumstances be admitted to full communion. And this remained the law of the Associate Reformed Church in all its Synods down to the union of 1858.

In May, 1810, Dr. John M. Mason resigned the pastoral care of the Cedar Street congregation in New York City, and with a colony commenced the work of building up a new congregation farther uptown. He had great difficulty in getting a suitable house in which to hold his services until their own church building should be erected in Murray Street. In their strait the trustees of the Presbyterian Church of which the Rev. Dr. Romeyn was pastor offered the use of their house at all such times as would not interfere with their own services. This kind and fraternal offer was gladly accepted, and Dr. Mason held his services immediately after the conclusion of Dr. Romeyn's, in both the forenoon and afternoon. A large part of Dr. Romeyn's people were in the habit of remaining to hear Dr. Mason, who was regarded as the finest pulpit orator of his day, and in this way the two congregations became very intimate. When the time came for Dr. Mason's first communion his session resolved, in view of the intimate relations

of the two congregations, and of the hospitality which they were receiving, to invite Dr. Romeyn's congregation to unite with them. This was accepted, and when Dr. Romeyn's communion occurred the courtesy was reciprocated. This was certainly a new departure in the history of the Associate Reformed Church, for the practice of her ministers had been influenced by tradition, and had always been more conservative and restrictive than her laws, and it became the subject of very serious consideration by the General Synod at its meeting in May, 1811. After all the facts had been ascertained, Messrs. Henderson and Dick moved, "That the Synod do declare their decided disapprobation of the deportment of said brethren (Mason, Matthews, and Clarke) in the premises, and command them to return to the established order of the church." This was negatived, and the following resolution, offered by Messrs. Dickey and Porter, was adopted, with only three negative votes:

> That the judicatories, ministers, and members of the church be and they hereby are entreated and required to exercise mutual forbearance in the premises; and in the use of their discretion to observe mutual tenderness and brotherly love, studying to avoid whatever may be contrary thereto, and giving special heed to the preservation of sound and efficient discipline.

Upon this occasion Dr. Mason made a speech of over three hours, which was regarded as the ablest effort of his life. He contended that his congregation had not violated the law of the church, because their circumstances were very peculiar and extraordinary, and that they had simply yielded to the necessities of their condition, and that it was neither their desire nor intention to continue to do so after the completion of their own building.

This action of Synod was not acceptable to many in the Synod of Scioto, and remonstrances and petitions were sent up to every meeting of the General Synod for several

years, but nothing was accomplished. As a consequence of this controversy, Dr. Mason in 1816 published his "Plea for Sacramental Communion on Catholic Principles," in which he took higher ground than in his speech before the Synod, that the "*members* who hold acknowledged communion with the *Head*, whatever be their subordinate variance, ought also to hold communion with each other in those ordinances which mark their communion with the Head." He never favored indiscriminate or promiscuous communion; he always insisted upon judging whether a man really was in communion with the "Head" before he would acknowledge him to be a "member." He defended the "doctrines of grace" with perhaps more zeal and ability than any man of his day, and to the last refused to hold "Christian fellowship with men who corrupt those precious doctrines which relate to the person, offices, or work of the Saviour, to the way of the sinner's acceptance with God, or to the renewing and sanctifying work of the Spirit."

The church used exclusively in its praise the Scottish version of the Psalms; but the necessity for some improvement in their meter and rhythm was soon felt, and in 1810 a committee of five of its leading ministers was appointed by the Synod. Their instruction was "to procure an improved version of Scriptural Psalmody, and to have the same in readiness for such order as the General Synod shall see meet to make at the next stated meeting." Nothing valuable grew out of this, for their poetic talent was insufficient; but liberty was given to use the version of the Reformed Dutch Church—a liberty which was neither asked nor used by the congregations. The matter, however, became mixed up with the communion controversy. There were no newspapers in those days to publish facts, and rumor is always an unsafe guide; so

some of the remote sections of the church became alarmed, supposing that an attempt was being made to set aside their dearly loved Psalms, which they cherished as a precious inheritance.

The Synod began to give decided evidence of premature decay. Different causes combined to produce this. The communion and psalmody controversies did something toward dividing the church and alienating the confidence of brethren. Two or three unpleasant cases of discipline helped to weaken the bonds of affection, particularly a quarrel between Mr. Rankin and Dr. Bishop, which was adjudicated by a commission of the General Synod in such a way as to satisfy neither party and pretty thoroughly ruin the fortunes of the Presbytery of Kentucky. There may have been also a little lordly domination on the part of some; there certainly was considerable jealousy and suspicion on the part of others; and such things do a quiet and deadly work. The General Synod met every year in Philadelphia, and the delegates from the Carolinas and from west of the Allegheny Mountains, who had always to travel on horseback and often over bad roads, could not as a general thing attend, and the government of the church became centralized, and so fell into the hands of a few; and the possession of power never promotes humility. In 1817 the Synod of Scioto asked that the General Synod should meet, occasionally at least, in a more western and central place than Philadelphia, or, if this could not be done, that the church should be divided into two or more separate and independent Synods. Both of these requests were refused. The result of all these things combined was that the Synod of Scioto, which embraced all the territory west of the Allegheny Mountains, at its meeting at Rush Creek, Fairfield County, O., in 1820, constituted itself into an independent judicatory, under the title of

the *Associate Reformed Synod of the West.* In 1821 the Synod of the Carolinas petitioned the General Synod for a separate and independent organization. This was granted, and on the 1st of April, 1822, it so constituted itself as the *Associate Reformed Synod of the South*, and has so remained until the present time. This left only the Synods of New York and Pennsylvania in connection with the General Synod.

When the General Synod, thus reduced, met in Philadelphia in May, 1821, an overture was received from the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church proposing an organic union of the two churches. Committees were appointed by both bodies to conduct the negotiations, and the following plan was agreed upon as a basis of union, viz.: 1. That the different Presbyteries of the Associate Reformed Church should either retain their separate organization or be amalgamated with those of the General Assembly at their own choice; 2. That the theological seminary of the Associate Reformed Church should be consolidated with the General Assembly's one at Princeton; 3. That the Associate Reformed Library and Funds should be transferred and belong to the seminary at Princeton. There were no doctrinal terms in the basis, inasmuch as both parties adhered to the same Confession of Faith and Catechisms. This plan was overtured to the Presbyteries of the General Synod.

The General Synod met on the 15th of May, 1822, in Philadelphia, when only three fourths of the delegates commissioned appeared. The overture in reference to union with the Presbyterian Church was taken up, and three fifths of the Presbyteries reported against it. Notwithstanding this presbyterial rejection, the subject was discussed at length for parts of four days, and then, on the 21st of May, it was resolved, "That this Synod ap-

prove and hereby do ratify the plan of union between the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church and the Associate Reformed Church, proposed by commissioners from said churches." This was carried by a majority of *two*, while one fourth of the members present refused to vote. Mr. Smith raised the objection that the resolution was not passed, because less than a majority of members present had not voted for it. The moderator, Dr. Laurie, of Washington City, decided that all silent votes were to be reckoned with the majority, and that the resolution was carried. Those who voted in the minority protested against this action, because it was against the voice of the church, as a majority of its presbyteries and congregations and ministers were opposed to the union. And fourteen years afterward the civil courts pronounced the act illegal, and ordered the restoration of the property transferred under it.

A committee was appointed to transfer the library and the seminary funds from New York to Princeton, and to report the result to the General Assembly. Mr. J. Arbuckle, the stated clerk of Synod, and also the pastor-elect of the Spruce Street Church in Philadelphia, was one of this committee, and he asked and obtained leave of absence that he might go immediately to New York and attend to these removals before any legal obstacles could be placed in the way. The General Assembly was at once advised of all this action, and a union thanksgiving was held the next day in the Assembly's house, when a Psalm and a hymn were sung and a prayer offered by one of each party. The Union part of the General Synod met the next morning in synodic capacity, and adopted the draft of a pastoral letter to the churches in explanation and defense of their course, and directed Mr. Arbuckle to deposit all the minutes and documents of the General Synod with

the session of the Spruce Street congregation, "subject to the future disposal of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church." They then sang, not as usual, the one hundred and thirty-third Psalm, but the penitential one hundred and thirtieth, and "finally adjourned." Many years afterward the large minute-book was very providentially found, by a friend of the church, in a grocery store in the city; the proprietor had bought it in a junk shop, as waste paper. It is now in the vault of the Publication House of the United Presbyterian Church in Pittsburg, Pa. On the day of thanksgiving the delegates of the General Synod were cordially invited to take their seats forthwith in the Assembly as constituent members. Rev. Messrs. McLeod and Duncan and Elders Nourse and Patterson did so, but all the others excused themselves and immediately returned home.

Thus perished the General Synod, after a somewhat troubled existence of only eighteen years, and mainly because of the domineering spirit of a few leading men. Not many ministers or congregations left the old church, but their loss was seriously felt, for it swept away everything Associate Reformed in the cities of New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington. It cut the church into three pieces, North, West, and South, and our history follows the fortunes of the first two of these.

CHAPTER VI.

THE ASSOCIATE REFORMED SYNOD OF NEW YORK.

THIS Synod as a subordinate Synod met in the autumn of 1812, in Broadalbin, Fulton County, N. Y., and adjourned to meet in May, 1814, in the city of New York. This meeting did not take place, and until February, 1822, there was no subsequent meeting. The one appointed for 1814 was mainly prevented by the unsettled state of the country produced by the war then existing between the United States and Great Britain. Subsequent meetings were omitted from neglect or a want of interest. The unhappy and personal controversies in the General Synod had so distracted and disheartened many of the ministers that they felt very much like retiring and letting everything outside of their personal charges go by default. The spirit of the body had been measurably destroyed, but the action of the General Synod in 1821, in reference to a union with the Presbyterian Church, roused these Northern ministers from their lethargy, and they resolved to labor still for the welfare of their old mother church. Dr. Robert Proudfit, moderator of the Synod of 1812, called a special meeting of the Synod, to assemble February 13, 1822, at Galway, Saratoga County, N. Y. This meeting was well attended by both ministers and elders, and the two following resolutions were adopted, with but one dissenting voice:

Resolved, That, in the opinion of this Synod, the union proposed with the General Assembly is inexpedient, and calculated to disturb the peace of our churches.

2. *Resolved*, That this Synod will maintain its existence in its present form, whatever be the decision of the General Synod upon the contemplated union.

It was then agreed to hold the next regular meeting at Newburg, on the 13th of the following September. Had the five delegates from this Synod that failed to appear in the meeting of the General Synod in 1822 attended, the resolution for union would not have passed, for they were all opposed to it.

The Synod met in Newburg, according to appointment, and was opened with a sermon by the Rev. James Scrimgeour, the senior minister, and was by him constituted with prayer. This was its first meeting as an independent and supreme judicatory, and the Court of Chancery of New Jersey subsequently decided that it was the legitimate successor of the General Synod, or at least next of kin, and thus its legal heir.

The yearnings of a common parentage and the memories of old friendships and past associations remained strong in the disrupted body, so in 1823 propositions came from the West and the South asking for some closer connection of the several fragments of the Associate Reformed Church. Negotiations were opened, and carried on for four years, and then in September of 1827 delegates from the three synods met in Pittsburg and drafted a plan for the reorganization of a General Synod. The synods did not approve of the plan. The prevailing objections were the great extent of territory covered, and the toil and expense of the travel involved. They concluded, however, that as they were one in parentage and faith and practice and feeling, they would remain one in reality, without any organic union, and so resolved to recognize each other as

sister churches, and to reciprocate Christian and ministerial fellowship, and to accredit testimonials of private members, probationers, and ministers precisely in the same manner as if they were connected in one ecclesiastical organization. And the result was harmony, peace, kind feeling, and pleasant intercourse. There may be danger in pressing the matter and fact of organization too far, for crossing and conflicting interests in the machinery may sometimes interfere with the true Christian spirit which should always dominate. Union with the head, Christ, will secure oneness of the members.

The Synod felt its responsibility for the wide and needy field which Providence had committed to its care, and resolved to do the best it could. In 1824 it organized itself into a Domestic Missionary Society, and had an annual sermon on the subject, and subordinate societies were instituted in all the congregations which held monthly meetings for prayer and information. The machinery was rather clumsy, and yet it was the means of developing considerable missionary spirit and of securing liberal contributions.

During the month of September, 1826, William Morgan, of Batavia, N. Y., for revelations made by him, was abducted by some of his brother masons, and taken by relays of horses through Caledonia and Canandaigua, and back through Rochester and Lockport to the mouth of the Niagara River, and there put into a boat at night, and taken out on Lake Ontario and never seen again. This produced a very great outburst of feeling throughout the whole country, and especially in western New York. As it took place in the territory of the Synod of New York, and in the very heart of the Presbytery of Caledonia, it was very natural that the subject of freemasonry should come up before the Synod as a moral question. And so

it did in 1828, when, after protracted and mature deliberation, it was

Resolved, That the multiplication and the nature of the oaths administered in the masonic lodges are unwarranted in the Word of God and demoralizing in their tendency; and that our church-members be and hereby are enjoined not to connect themselves with the society; and any who may have been initiated are affectionately recommended to withdraw from any further connection with this institution.

Excitement continued and even increased in both church and State, so that in 1830 it was further enacted—

That this Synod will and hereby do express their decided disapprobation of the principles and usages of freemasonry, as far as known to them, and warn their people solemnly and affectionately against all connection with the institution; that it be and hereby is enjoined upon church sessions, under the inspection of this Synod, to adopt the most prudent and effective measures to remove the contamination from our churches.

A few members of the church in Delaware County asked the privilege of retaining a silent membership in masonry by simply paying their dues without meeting in the lodge. But they were answered, "That the act of Synod, adopted at its last meeting, requires them to withdraw entirely from all connection with and subjection to the society of freemasons." This position of the Synod was never afterward questioned or modified, or in any way disturbed.

In the early part of the nineteenth century the use of ardent spirits by ministers as well as laymen was almost universal. Good men had not yet learned that there might be a criminal temptation in the mere use of intoxicating drinks as a beverage. They were free to condemn drunkenness as a sin, but they supposed that all its sinfulness arose from the abuse of that which, in moderation, was lawful. In 1828 the Synod pronounced intemperance "a great and *prevailing* evil in our country," and directed its ministers to preach against this vice, and that they and their elders should show an example of the strict-

est temperance, abstaining in this matter even from the appearance of evil. The custom of the country hitherto had been to have the bottle always upon the dinner-table upon all special occasions, whether it was at a Synod or a Presbytery, at a marriage or a funeral; but a public opinion began now to grow rapidly, which challenged the propriety and correctness of such a custom, and under its quickening influence the Synod in 1829 took the following action:

Resolved, That this Synod disapprove of the use of spirituous liquors as a beverage, and that they will themselves entirely abstain from it in all their meetings, and recommend to Presbyteries and sessions to do the same.

This was done on the avowed principle of sustaining the expression of opinion by corresponding practice. Temperance societies began to spring up, in which the members pledged themselves at first to a modified and restricted use of liquors, and in many cases imposing a fine for any violation of the pledge. Finally the pledge required total abstinence. In 1833 the Synod passed an act approving of the establishment of temperance societies on "*Scriptural* principles," and cordially recommended and exhorted their members to connect themselves with these societies. The temperance movement at this first outburst became very wild and developed no little fanaticism, so the Synod limited its approval to those only that were organized in accordance with Scriptural principles. The Synod had occasion to speak upon this subject at different subsequent times, and always condemned the use of spirituous liquors as a beverage.

With our present wealth of religious periodicals it is hard to conceive how the church, within the memory of some still living, was able to do its work without these pastoral assistants. Their need was long felt before the remedy was provided. The Synod soon realized the

absolute necessity of having some periodical under its control, or so connected with it that the homes of the families of the church could be easily reached through its pages. So in 1831 it directed the establishment of a monthly periodical, to be called the "Christian Magazine," to be published at Geneva, N. Y., and to be edited by Rev. John F. McLaren. This magazine was very creditably edited, and for eleven years did a good work for the church, and then for sundry causes it ceased to exist. The necessity for such an organ was now more painfully felt than before its advantages had been experienced, so in 1844 the establishment of a similar magazine, "The Christian Instructor," was ordered. For two years it was published in Newburg, N. Y., and edited by the Rev. Dr. John Forsyth, and then transferred to Philadelphia, to be conducted by Dr. J. B. Dales as a private enterprise. It was subsequently converted into a large weekly paper, and is still doing good service in the church.

The Synod in its independent career soon felt hampered and oppressed from a lack of ministers, and realized the imperative necessity of establishing a theological seminary to supply the demand. Dr. Alexander Proudfit and Rev. Robert Forrest were appointed to apply to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church for the return of the library and funds of the old seminary, which had been transferred in 1822 to Princeton. This they did, but met with no encouragement, and the Synod got along as best it could until 1829, when it was unanimously resolved, "That the present time is the proper time for making a beginning in this good work." A course of study was adopted; Dr. Joseph McCarrell was chosen principal professor; Newburg, N. Y., was selected as the location; and the seminary was opened in the autumn with several students.

In 1830 it was resolved to make another effort for the restoration of the alienated library and funds. A memorial was drafted and placed in the hands of Dr. McCarrell and John Forsyth, Esq., to be presented to the next General Assembly. It was also determined that this should be the last application, and if denied, a suit in the civil court should be instituted. In May, 1831, the commissioners appeared before the Assembly, and their memorial was referred to a special committee, which brought in an adverse report. The Assembly did not adopt this, but referred it and the memorial to the trustees of the Theological Seminary at Princeton, with power to act according to their judgment. The trustees declined to decide upon the claim, and referred it back to the next Assembly, with their advice to reject it. When the subject came up in the Assembly of 1832 Dr. McCarrell was again present, and asked the privilege of being heard. This was refused. The reading of a written argument prepared by him was then offered, and also declined. This Assembly was composed almost entirely of different members from that of the previous year, and they had not heard a single word in defense of the claim; yet they refused to hear anything upon the subject, except the report of a select committee upon the opinion or paper of the trustees of the seminary. The conclusion was soon attained, and it was a positive rejection. This shut the door against all further friendly negotiation, and a suit was commenced at once in the Court of Chancery in the State of New Jersey. The case lingered, like all such cases, until July, 1837, when the chancellor decided in the Synod's favor on every point presented in the claim. The library and funds were at once surrendered and transferred to Newburg.

The Synod having no foreign missionary enterprise of its own, some of its ministers and congregations identi-

fied themselves with the American Board, and it always dispensed the Lord's Supper during its annual meeting. Participation in these communion services became a practical question with those ministers who attended its meetings, one of whom was a corporate member of the Board. In 1838 the Synod instructed against any participation on these occasions—not because it was opposed to occasional communion under proper circumstances, but because the Board made all the arrangements for these communion services, thereby implying that it had the right to administer the sealing ordinances of the church, and also because of the miscellaneous character of the faith and practice of the crowd which usually partook of the Supper.

The antislavery feeling, which had been gradually and steadily growing in our country during the first part of this century, soon showed itself in the proceedings of the Synod. Plain people cannot comprehend that system of ethics which divides a man's identity and allows him to do as a citizen that which it forbids him to do as a Christian. Memorials upon the subject of slavery began to come up to the Synod as early as 1837, and continued to come for the next ten or twelve years. The Synod did not, however, warm up to the subject very readily, and uniformly answered, that, having no connection with slavery or slave territory, or bodies that tolerated slaveholding members, there was no call for a judicial or ecclesiastical utterance. This refusal to speak out did not satisfy the consciences of many of the members of the church, who felt that the cries of wronged and wounded humanity should be heeded, and receive at least the recognition and sympathy of all God's people. Besides, slavery, in its relations and its spirit of extension, had become a practical question of every-day life, far beyond its territorial boundaries. A great political party, known as the "Free-Soil," was

springing into existence, specially in opposition to it; and on the other side, Congress had denied the right of petition on this subject, and had passed a law making it the duty of Northern men to help to return the fugitive slave to his Southern master, and had also permitted slavery to be carried into territory hitherto free.

The Presbytery of Philadelphia, moved by these aggressions, memorialized the Synod in 1851 to issue a testimony against slavery as an "enormous system of immorality." This memorial was referred to a special committee, and in due time a majority report, by Dr. Robert Proudfit, and a minority report, by Rev. A. Bowers, were brought in. The former recommended that no testimony be issued, and the principal reasons for this refusal were two, and may be epitomized thus: *First*, that special testimonies and warnings, according to the custom and policy of our church, were issued only against dangerous errors and gross immoralities prevailing at the time, and within the bounds of our church; and as there was no slavery within the bounds of our Synod, a testimony was not called for. *Second*, that slavery is an institution wholly under the control of civil authority; and however iniquitous in its origin, the church can have no control over its continuance, and has neither the right nor the power to abolish it, the kingdom of Christ being not of this world. The report ended with a strong protest against any insinuation that may be made that this Synod is a proslavery Synod, from either its former or its present action on this subject. This report was adopted by a majority of five, and it is worthy of note that a majority of the affirmative vote was given by ruling elders, while three fourths of the negative were by ministers. Politics had unquestionably much to do in the matter, for both Whigs and Democrats looked upon the Free-Soilers with much disfavor.

The question at issue, however, was not the abstract right or wrong of slavery, but the right and the expediency of issuing testimonies in reference to civil institutions. It is but just to say that every one of these men that voted for the report was conscientiously and avowedly opposed to slavery. The acknowledged leader, who spoke for two hours against synodic action, was one of the first men who joined in the organization of the Republican party for the avowed purpose of antagonizing slavery. He did so, according to his theory, as a citizen in the performance of a civil duty, and not as a minister in the discharge of an ecclesiastical duty. He and those ministers that joined with him were not only conservative by natural temperament, but they had learned in their youth that if the state must not handle things purely ecclesiastical, neither must the church deal with civil institutions. They held that Christians are in duty bound to leaven the world with their spirit and thought, and that they must do this not in the discharge of their ecclesiastical functions, which are for those that are within, but by carrying their educated consciences and pure morality into the discharge of their duties as citizens; that their religion should dominate their politics, instead of allowing their politics to control their religion. They would not vote for immoral men, and believed that if only friends of Christ were put into office, the world would soon be revolutionized in the matter of its morality.

While the union movement between the Associate and the Associate Reformed Churches was slowly progressing, a proposition was made to unite the two Associate Reformed Synods, that of New York and the General Synod of the West, into one organization. This was easily and quickly done in 1855, upon the simple basis that, possessing the same standards, the appellate powers of the new

General Synod should be confined exclusively to questions of doctrine; and that all institutions and property belonging to each Synod shall so remain without any interference in any manner by the General Synod, or any other particular Synod. The career of the Synod as an independent body now ceased, and it has since continued as a particular Synod, subordinate to the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church.

CHAPTER VII.

THE ASSOCIATE REFORMED SYNOD OF THE WEST.

We have seen in a previous chapter that the course of the first General Synod of the Associate Reformed Church, for various reasons, was not satisfactory to the subordinate Synod of Scioto, and that the latter in 1818 proposed to the former that it would hold its meetings in a more central place than Philadelphia, that there might be a fuller western representation; or, failing in this, to divide the church into two or more independent Synods. The General Synod refused to do either, and then appointed a commission, clothed with judicial power, to go to Lexington and settle the troubles which then afflicted the Presbytery of Kentucky. When men have once tasted power, they are slow to relinquish it. The Synod of Scioto, at its meeting in the autumn of 1818, gave an expression of its feelings by enjoining its Presbyteries to report to the next meeting their judgment whether the Synod at that meeting should constitute itself into an independent Synod, or continue to bear its grievances. Guided by the answers of its Presbyteries, the Synod in October, 1819,

Resolved, That the next meeting of this Synod be held at ———, etc., and that it will then constitute itself into an independent Synod, declaring, as they hereby declare, their strict adherence to the Confession of Faith, Larger and Shorter Catechisms, Form of Church Government, and Directories of Worship, as received at Greencastle on the 31st of May, 1799, and uniformly acted on as then understood till the year 1811, on which ground they will reciprocate ministerial and Christian communion with the other branches of the Associate Reformed Church.

The Synod held its next meeting at Rush Creek, Fairfield County, O., on the 27th of April, 1820, when it reaffirmed the action of the previous meeting by but two dissenting votes, and then re-constituted itself as an independent Synod, under the name of *The Associate Reformed Synod of the West.* It contained the three Presbyteries of Monongahela, Kentucky, and Ohio, whose congregations were scattered all along from the Allegheny Mountains to the Mississippi River. The Presbytery of Kentucky was, however, very feeble. From 1800 to 1810 the counties lying around Lexington constituted not only the garden spot of the State, but also of the Associate Reformed Church. This region gave more promise of a rich future to the church than almost any other section of the whole country. The congregations were comparatively numerous; the Academy of Kentucky was instituted and endowed by the State with four thousand five hundred acres of land; a majority of the professors in Transylvania University were ministers of the Associate Reformed Church; even subscriptions were offered for the founding of a western theological seminary at Lexington, which was expected to rival the one in New York under Dr. Mason; and such pulpit orators as Rankin, Bishop, and McCord were very scarce anywhere. But, unhappily, brotherly love ceased to flourish among these brilliant ministers, and jealousies and dissensions entered the Presbytery. A blight soon passed over the fair prospects, and when the Synod of the West was organized the Academy of Kentucky was closed and its lands all lost, the University of Transylvania was without an Associate Reformed professor, the congregations shrunk in many instances to skeletons, and William H. Rainey was the only settled pastor. All this from pure mismanagement and criminal captiousness, for the question of slavery had not yet been started to vex the churches,

and when it was, a few years later, all of Kentucky became lost to the Synod.

After assuming the responsibilities of an independent body, the members of the Synod soon realized that the field for cultivation was very large and that the laborers were very few. The number of congregations was twice that of the ministers, and needy and uncared-for communities were painfully plenty. Measures were soon taken to provide for the training of young ministers, and in May, 1825, it was resolved to establish a theological seminary in Pittsburg, with Dr. Joseph Kerr as its first professor. This institution was opened in December, and still exists, and has educated nearly one thousand young men for the Christian ministry. A second theological seminary was instituted in 1839, at Oxford, O., over which Dr. Joseph Claybaugh was first called to preside.

The Synod also urged upon the Presbyteries the necessity of establishing classical schools and academies within their bounds, that they might become feeders to the seminary by supplying the facilities for the preparatory education. Quite a number of such schools were organized and conducted with success, and proved to be a great blessing both to the church and also to the communities in which they were located, for the facilities for education were yet very limited in many sections of our country. As an additional inducement and help, a *Young Men's Fund* was established in 1826, to aid indigent and pious young men in preparing for the ministry. From it young men could *borrow* to a certain amount and return the principal within a certain number of years, without the payment of any interest. It was the best the church could then afford, and it answered its purpose well, for it helped and is still helping many students into the ministry, without doing anything toward *pauperizing* them in fact or in

spirit. The church has since added a more gratuitous scheme of assistance, but it is an open question whether the ministry or the church has been really benefited thereby, for we cherish most dearly and use most carefully that which costs us most. Young men enter other professions and lines of business without the agency of organized assistance, and they are all the better for it, because the development of character and the habits of industry and economy acquired in so doing become the very sources of their future success. Ministers need as much development and stamina of character as any other class of men, and whatever helps to produce these is a positive gain, and to be nursed too tenderly may in the end be a loss.

One of the Presbyteries had some difficulty in determining whether the organization of a congregation could be completed without *deacons*, and referred the question in 1824 to the Synod. The matter was kept under consideration for a number of years, and then indefinitely postponed. The prevailing opinion in Synod seemed to be, that, as every lower office is included in those above, and as the apostles did not evolve the office of deacon till the ministrations to the poor became so burdensome as to require a distinct class of men to conduct them, so every congregation should be left to determine for itself when it may become necessary to evolve the office of deacon out of the office of ruling elder, and that the condition of one congregation should not be a law unto another.

There was a time when much of the earnest, active antislavery sentiment in the country existed in the slaveholding States. Those who gave the original impulse to the antislavery sentiment in this Synod were principally those who had emigrated from the South. At a meeting of the Synod at Chillicothe, O., in May, 1826, a memorial upon the subject of slavery came up from Hopwell, Preble

County, O., from a congregation which had come as a colony from South Carolina. This started a series of discussions, which passed from Synod to Synod until 1830, when the following was adopted:

1. That the religion of Jesus Christ requires that involuntary slavery should be removed from the church as soon as an opportunity in the providence of God is offered to slave-owners for the liberation of their slaves.

2. That when there are no regulations of the State to prohibit it, when provision can be made for the support of the freedmen, when they can be placed in circumstances to support the rank, enjoy the rights, and discharge the duties of freedmen, it shall be considered that such an opportunity is afforded in the providence of God.

3. That the Synod will, as it hereby does, recommend it to all its members to aid in placing the slaves which are within the jurisdiction of this Synod in the possession of their rights as freedmen; and that it be recommended to them especially to take up annual collections to aid the funds of the American society for colonizing the free people of color in the United States.

4. That the practice of buying or selling slaves for gain by any member of this church be disapproved, and that slave-owners under the jurisdiction of the Synod be, as they hereby are, forbidden all aggravations of the evils of slavery by violating the ties of nature, the separation of husband and wife, parents and children, or by cruel or unkind treatment; and that they shall not only treat them well, but also instruct them in useful knowledge and the principles of the Christian religion, and in all respects treat them as enjoined upon masters toward their servants by the apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ.

The Synod in 1838 explained the second resolution by declaring, "That an opportunity in the providence of God shall be considered as afforded when the master can emancipate his slave and place him in circumstances where he shall not be liable to be immediately sold into bondage." And in 1839 the following preamble and resolution were passed in reference to the third resolution:

As there are two conflicting societies operating in the community—the Colonization and the Antislavery Societies—and as this Synod has recommended the former to the patronage of the churches under its care, and as it is desirable the Synod should keep clear of this excitement, and as the church should not be involved by the operation of bodies over which it has no control; therefore, *Resolved*, That this Synod withdraws the recommendation formerly given to the Colonization Society.

Public opinion in later days regarded the resolutions of 1830 as a very mild condemnation of slavery, while they were in reality a very advanced attainment upon this subject at the time when they were passed; and their wisdom was vindicated by their fruits, for they served their purpose so well that the growing antislavery sentiment of the church never sought to disturb them, giving a good illustration of the fact that a mild law faithfully executed is always more efficacious for good than a severer law imperfectly enforced. The Synod was in earnest, and did design to execute all that it had enacted, for in 1832 it issued a Letter of Warning, and spoke of these resolutions thus:

> Now, brethren, it is expected that the foregoing resolutions will not be as a dead letter, but be respected and reduced to practice. It is expected that sessions and presbyteries will see them enforced. It is expected that slave-owners in the church will make conscience of seeking and improving opportunities, and the very first which offer, of liberating their slaves. It is expected that in the meantime they will give satisfactory evidence to their respective sessions that they do consider slavery a moral evil, and that they do truly desire to get rid of it as soon as they can, and that it is their intention to embrace the first opportunity which God in his providence shall give them for so doing. And it is expected of sessions that they will require this of slave-owning church-members or applicants.

The abduction of Morgan in 1826 produced a very sudden and very violent anti-masonic excitement throughout the whole country, and it made its appearance in Synod in 1829, through the instrumentality of the Presbytery of Monongahela, and perhaps fully as much in the interest of a political party, then forming, as in vindication and furtherance of the truth. The Synod did not enter into any extended discussion of the abstract question of the right or wrong of masonry, but instituted an inquiry to see how far the church was contaminated with it. Finding that the churches of the Synod were virtually free from it, the following action was taken:

WHEREAS a reference from the Presbytery of Monongahela, relative to masonry, has been brought before this Synod; and WHEREAS it is believed that the practice of freemasonry is contrary to the standards of this church; and WHEREAS, on inquiry being made, it has been ascertained that the several ministers of this Synod are in the practice of detaining from sealing ordinances those who take unlawful oaths: therefore, *Resolved*, That the Synod take no further notice of the subject.

The matter of secret societies, in a more general form, came before the General Synod in 1846, when the following action was taken:

1. WHEREAS the Society of Odd Fellows has been and still is making special efforts to revive and secure popular favor to the principle of secret associations, and especially to give the appearance of morality and religion by the names of ministers of the gospel; and WHEREAS we regard the principle itself as inconsistent with the character of true Christianity and highly dangerous to our civil institutions: therefore, *Resolved*, That this Synod do hereby express its disapprobation of said society, and warn our people that persistence in a connection with it must subject such as do so to the discipline of the church.

2. WHEREAS the Order of the Sons of Temperance, though having a more simple object and free from oaths, is nevertheless organized on the principle of secret associations, and thereby sanctioning it; therefore, *Resolved*, That, in the judgment of this Synod, it is the duty of professing Christians to stand aloof from its entanglements, and not to give it their sanction or encouragement.

The custom of the country in the early part of the nineteenth century not only permitted the use of spirituous liquors as a beverage, but almost exacted it as a token of hospitality. Friendship would not withhold the cup, and would scarcely even allow its rejection. Even ministers in the performance of their pastoral duties were expected to drink, and were often urged to do so, and this was the secret of the fall of not a few of them. Against all this the conscience of good and thoughtful men finally revolted, and a great temperance movement was inaugurated. The Synod gave its first deliverance upon this subject in 1834, in the passage of the following resolutions:

1. That the practice of using ardent spirits as a drink, or mode of expressing our hospitality to a friend, is calculated to do much injury to society, and, in view of the benevolent effort now in progress for the suppression of intemperance, is calculated to expose the Christian character to reproach; and, therefore, that it be recommended to all the members of the churches under our care to abstain from it.

2. That while it is not maintained that the manufacture and vending of ardent spirits are, in themselves, immoral, yet, in consideration of the very general abuse of the article, it is recommended to all under our care to abstain from both.

3. That while it is the province of the ordinances of the gospel alone, under the divine blessing, to produce and promote temperance as a Christian grace, and while it is left to the discretion of individuals to promote the cause of temperance as a social virtue in that mode which to them may appear most efficacious, yet a temperance society, established upon proper principles, is well calculated to promote this latter kind of temperance, and is not liable to any serious objections.

These same views were reaffirmed in 1841, in language more positive and emphatic.

The scarcity of men and money compelled the Synod to cultivate its home missionary field just as it could and without any well-defined system. Every pastor gave a portion of his time to vacancies and destitute places in his own neighborhood or Presbytery, and occasionally one or more were taken from their charges and sent for months on a tour of missionary exploration. But an increase of resources called for some system which would secure greater efficiency. After much consideration and some experimenting it was finally agreed to leave the disposal of all licentiates and unsettled ministers to a Committee of Missions, to be composed of one member from each Presbytery, which was to meet annually before or during the meeting of the Synod, and make a distribution of ministers to the different Presbyteries according to their need, and to fix the amounts of money to be appropriated to the places needing help. The whole to be subject to the approval of the Synod.

In the constitution of the Associate Reformed Church provision was made for the emitting of occasional testimonies from time to time to protect the doctrinal purity and practical piety of the church from prevailing errors and immoralities. In accordance with this the Synod in 1825 prepared and issued an exhaustive and elaborate testimony against "Hopkinsian, Socinian, and semi-Socinian errors as prevalent in the present day." Other testimonies of this kind were issued in 1832: one in reference to the Sabbath; another upon revivals as conducted with the anxious-bench machinery; another upon evil speaking; and another upon slavery; and still another in 1853, "on the neglected duty of honoring the Lord with our substance." This last would be seasonable at any time, and concludes thus:

The following opinions are of bad practical tendency, and as such we condemn them, and testify against them:

1. That the common education of children and domestics may be neglected without sin, and that we are under no obligation to assist in the education of other children than our own.

2. That we are not obliged to assist the poor, unless they are church-members and worthy persons.

3. That we are not bound to assist with our substance in relieving the oppressed, unless we personally assisted in inflicting the oppression.

4. That it is either sinful or dangerous to assist societies which are moral and benevolent in their character and operations.

5. That Christians may discharge all their duties and yet neglect to support the gospel as God has prospered them.

6. That men have no rule but their own fancy and pleasure to guide them in supporting the gospel and aiding benevolent societies.

The Synod felt that the foreign missionary cause had claims upon it, and after much deliberation concluded in 1837 to engage in the work to the extent of its ability, and planned to send Rev. W. Blain to India, to join in the same mission with Mr. McEwen, who had been sent there by the Synod of New York. But before all neces-

sary arrangements could be made Mr. McEwen's health failed and he was compelled to return, and the enterprise was abandoned. The Synod, however, felt that there was a neglected duty in the matter. Denominational missionary boards had not yet been established, and nearly all the missionary work done outside of the American Board was done through the agency of local voluntary societies. The Mercer County (Pa.) Society was of this kind, and was composed of members of the Presbyterian, the Associate, the Associate Reformed, and the Covenanter Churches. In 1841 the General Synod requested its ministers, as speedily as possible, to take up collections to be appropriated to the support of Rev. J. R. Campbell, who had been sent to India, in 1835, by this society. This was felt to be only temporary, and did not give full satisfaction, so in 1842 the Synod "*Resolved*, That we will endeavor, in reliance on the great Head of the church, to send out at least one missionary to Palestine, by the 1st of October, 1844." In the winter of 1844–45 Rev. J. Barnett and his brother-in-law, J. G. Paulding, M.D., sailed for Syria, and located in Damascus. The Synod continued actively and successfully in this foreign field.

The Synod of the West became unwieldy because of the extent of its territory, which was stretching out rapidly toward the west. As a matter of relief the Synod concluded in 1839 to divide into two Synods, the First and the Second (and subsequently Illinois), subordinate to a General Synod, composed of delegates from the Presbyteries. A number of ministers still lived who had mingled in the troubles of the old General Synod, and to guard against the things that proved its ruin, it was provided that "the General Synod shall have no appellate jurisdiction except in cases of doctrine"; and also, "that the General Synod in all matters overtured to the Presbyteries

shall be governed in their decision by the majority of the entire vote of the church thus obtained." That is, that Presbyteries shall not be counted as units in their answer to overtures, but that the votes in the Presbyteries should be reported, and a majority of these should govern the action of the Synod, so that it may be the voice of the church.

The constitution of the Associate Reformed Church had always confined the right of voting for a pastor to *male* communicants. The justice of this restriction was often called in question, so the whole matter of voting in things spiritual and things temporal was overtured to the Presbyteries. In accordance with the answers returned it was in 1853

Resolved, That Synod affirm that the right of voting for pastors is now extended to *all communing* members in the Associate Reformed Church.

Resolved, That, in accordance with the vote of the several Presbyteries, the extension of the privilege of voting in the temporalities of the church to pew-holders and those supporting the ordinances be left discretionary with the Sessions.

As already stated elsewhere, the Associate Reformed Synod of New York and the General Synod of the Associate Reformed Church of the West were united in 1856; but this new organization continued only for three years, when it formed a union with the Associate Synod and constituted the United Presbyterian Church. Its contribution to the united body was 240 ministers, 360 congregations, and over 30,000 communicants.

These uniting bodies sprang from the same source, ever saw eye to eye in all that pertained to doctrine and worship, worked along the same lines, operated upon the same classes of society, mingled together in the same communities, and entertained friendly relations with each other, and the wonder always was why they remained apart so long.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE UNION OF 1858.

In 1837 the General Synod of the Reformed Presbyterian Church proposed a conference to see if something could be done to bring the different branches of the Scottish dissenters in this country into closer relations. In response to this invitation, delegates from the Reformed Presbyterian Synod and from the Associate Reformed Synods of New York and the West met in 1838, in Pittsburg, to talk over the matter and find out what difficulties might be in the way. The social and Christian intercourse of the delegates was so pleasant and enjoyable that they made provision for future conferences of the same kind. In 1842 the Associate Synod joined in and sent delegates also. After several days' interchange of views, it was clearly ascertained that there existed a remarkable degree of harmony, and the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That, having discussed the prominent subjects upon which a diversity of sentiment was apprehended to exist, it appears there is such a degree of unanimity on these subjects that there is encouragement for the convention to take further measures toward a visible ecclesiastical union.

By this time it became very evident that there was no greater difference in the views of the delegates of the different churches than existed among the ministers of any one of them, and that, in the event of a union, no church would be called upon to tolerate in those from other churches anything more than what was already tol-

erated in its own. There was in reality no difference in doctrines and worship, and the only difficulties hinged upon the modes of expression and the methods of exhibition. Each party, from long use, had become attached to its own mode, and felt reluctant to make any change. It will be remembered that the Associate Reformed Church at its organization altered those portions of the Confession of Faith which define the powers of the civil government *circa sacra* so as to make them express clearly the belief of the church. The Associate and the Reformed Churches retained the original text in their Confession of Faith, and then in their "Testimony" explained the sense in which they received it. Yet all these churches held a common doctrine, and only differed as to where and how they should proclaim it. The Associate Reformed Church held the Confession of Faith and Catechisms, Presbyterial Form of Government, and Directory of Worship as her *fixed testimony*, and also promised to emit occasional testimonies in defense of the truth and in opposition to error, as occasions might require. The other churches added to these standards a "Narrative" and "Judicial Testimony" as being of equal authority. All the churches held the doctrine in common that the church must bear witness for the truth and against error. The difference consisted only in the manner or method of doing so. As no principle was involved, some compromise in the matter of preference must be made, and it was finally agreed:

> That, in the judgment of this convention, a union between the bodies here represented can be effected only by an alteration of the Westminster Confession of Faith in the twentieth, the twenty-third, and the thirty-first chapters, and the adoption of a "Judicial Testimony" against prevailing and dangerous errors of the present times.

Two bases of union were drafted according to the above direction, and presented and discussed at succeeding con-

ventions, but both proved to be unsatisfactory. There developed two parties: the one insisted upon a comprehensive and argumentative testimony, while the other was equally firm in contending for a brief and simple "Testimony," easily comprehended by the people. Neither would yield their convictions, and the future became unpromising. Those that most earnestly desired the union became thoroughly satisfied, from past experience, that the present method of procedure would never accomplish the object desired, and that the whole business had better be begun anew. Nine annual conventions had been held, and the difficulties to be removed were positively increasing instead of diminishing. And what else could be expected? Every convention gave the first and best part of its labors to the hunting up of difficulties and differences of views. If enough of these could not be readily found, little things were magnified, and mole-hills were made into mountains, so as to accomplish the work. There was never any greater diversity of views among the different delegates at any of the meetings than was to be found among the ministers of each one of the bodies represented; and if slight differences could be tolerated in the Synod, why not in the convention and in the united body? But the negotiations had generally been confined to a few theological experts, and they must sustain their reputation and develop shades of differences, without paying any attention to the almost endless catalogue of agreements. The necessary results of such hypercriticism were suspicion, distrust, an improper magnifying of little things, and a wrangle over metaphysical abstractions which should never appear in the creed of any church. A cordial union could never be effected by such means. The scalpel and the microscope must give place to softer, warmer, and gentler agencies.

Conventions by delegations were in 1848 abandoned,

but the effort for union was by no means given up. Expectation had been excited in the churches, a friendly feeling had been developed, and the heart of the people was warmed up, so that they really yearned for union and close brotherly fellowship. Hitherto the effort had been confined substantially to the agency of the head, and some new method must be instituted which would keep the negotiations nearer to the heart of the people. Henceforth the work was confined to synodic assemblies, where all the ministers and many of the elders could have a voice. When conventions were abandoned the Reformed Presbyterians withdrew from any further negotiations, but a regular correspondence between the synods of the Associate and the Associate Reformed Churches was commenced, which finally terminated in the offer of a Basis of Union by the former in 1856 to the latter, which was overtured to the Presbyteries, and adopted in 1857 by the General Synod.

The Associate Synod in tendering this basis stated that in the "Testimony" the declarations only were authoritative, and that the argument and the illustrations which accompanied each declaration were only useful guides to the meaning of the declarations. The General Synod in accepting the basis responded thus:

> The Associate Reformed Church does hereby declare her acceptance of the "Testimony" proposed as a basis of union by the Associate Synod, and overtured by the General Synod of 1856 to the Presbyteries, in the confidence that any modifications or amendments necessary to harmonize said basis with the faith and practice held in common by the two churches, or render it more entirely acceptable, will be in due time effected by the United Church, and in the confidence that reasonable forbearance will be exercised toward any member of either body that may feel constrained to dissent from any article in the basis.

The Basis of Union thus agreed upon was the Westminster Confession of Faith, with a modification in refer-

ence to the power of the civil magistrate *circa sacra*, so as to free it from all Erastianism, the Catechisms, Larger and Shorter, and a "Judicial Testimony." The Directory for Worship and the Book of Discipline of both churches were allowed to be used until others should be prepared. The "Judicial Testimony" covered important subjects which had not been embraced in the Confession, or not sufficiently elaborated to meet present circumstances. It consists of eighteen declarations, with arguments and illustrations. The arguments and illustrations are only designed to be useful helps, and not as authoritative utterances. These declarations are as follows:

1. *We declare*, That God has not only in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments made a revelation of his will to man as the only rule of faith and practice, but that these Scriptures, viewed as a revelation from God, are in every part the inspired Word of God, and that this inspiration extends to the language as well as to the sentiments which they express.

2. *We declare*, That our Lord Jesus Christ is not only true and supreme God, being one in essence with the Father, but also the Son of God, in respect to his natural, necessary, and eternal relation to the Father.

3. *We declare*, That God, having created man in a state of perfect holiness and in possession of a perfect ability to obey him in all things, did enter into a covenant with him, in which covenant Adam was the representative of all his natural posterity, so that in him they were to stand or fall as he stood or fell.

4. *We declare*, That our first parents did, by their breach of covenant with God, subject themselves to his eternal wrath, and bring themselves into such a state of depravity as to be wholly inclined to sin, and altogether unable by their own power to perform a single act of acceptable obedience to God; and that all their natural posterity, in virtue of their representation in the covenant, are born into the world in the same state of guilt, depravity, and inability, and in this state will continue until delivered therefrom by the grace and righteousness of the Lord Jesus Christ.

5. *We declare*, That our Lord Jesus Christ did, by the appointment of the Father, and by his own gracious and voluntary act, place himself in the room of a definite number, who were chosen in him before the foundation of the world, so that he was their true and proper legal security; and as such did, in their behalf, satisfy the justice of God, and answer all the demands which the law had against them, and thereby infallibly obtain for them eternal redemption.

6. *We declare*, That in justification there is an imputation to the believer of that righteousness, or satisfaction and obedience, which the Lord Jesus Christ, as the surety of his people, rendered to the law; and that it is only on the ground of this imputed righteousness that his sins are pardoned and his person accepted in the sight of God.

7. *We declare*, That the gospel, taken in its strict and proper sense, as distinguished from the law, is a revelation of grace to sinners as such, and that it contains a free and unconditional offer and grant of salvation through Christ to all who hear it, whatever may be their character or condition.

8. *We declare*, That in true and saving faith there is not merely an assent of the mind to the proposition that the Lord Jesus Christ is the Saviour of sinners, but also a cordial reception and appropriation of him by the sinner as his Saviour, with an accompanying persuasion or assurance corresponding to the degree or strength of his faith that he shall be saved by him, which appropriation and persuasion are founded solely upon the free and unconditional and unlimited offer of Christ and salvation in him which God makes in the gospel to sinners of mankind.

9. *We declare*, That the repentance which is a saving grace is one of the fruits of a justifying faith, and of course cannot be regarded as a ground of the sinner's pardon, or as necessary to qualify him for coming to Christ.

10. *We declare*, That although the moral law is of perpetual obligation, and consequently does and ever will bind the believer as a rule of life, yet as a covenant he is by his justification through Christ completely and forever set free from it, both as to its commanding and condemning power, and consequently not required to yield obedience to it as a condition of life and salvation.

11. *We declare*, That the Holy Spirit, the third person of the Trinity, does, by a direct operation accompanying the Word, so act upon the soul as to quicken, regenerate, and sanctify it; and that without this direct operation the soul would have no ability to perceive in a saving manner the truths of God's Word or yield to the motives which it presents.

12. *We declare*, That our Lord Jesus Christ, besides the dominion which belongs to him as God, has, as our God-man Mediator, a twofold dominion with which he has been invested by the Father, as the reward of his sufferings. These are: a dominion over the church, of which he is the living Head and Law-giver, and Source of all that divine influence and authority by which she is sustained and governed; and also a dominion over all created persons and things, which is exercised by him in subserviency to the manifestation of God's glory in the system of redemption and the interests of his church.

13. *We declare*, That the law of God, as written upon the heart of man, and as set forth in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, is supreme in its authority and obligations, and that where the commands of the church or state are in conflict with the commands of this law, we are to obey God rather than man.

14. *We declare*, That slaveholding—that is, the holding of unoffending human beings in involuntary bondage, and considering and treating them as property, and subject to be bought and sold—is a violation of the law of God, and contrary both to the letter and spirit of Christianity.

15. *We declare*, That all associations, whether formed for political or benevolent purposes, which impose upon their members an oath of secrecy or an obligation to obey a code of unknown laws, are inconsistent with the genius and spirit of Christianity, and church-members ought not to have fellowship with such associations.

16. *We declare*, That the church should not extend communion, in sealing ordinances, to those who refuse adherence to her profession or subjection to her government and discipline, or who refuse to forsake a communion which is inconsistent with the profession that she makes; nor should communion in any ordinance of worship be held under such circumstances as would be inconsistent with keeping of these ordinances pure and entire, or so as to give countenance to any corruption of the doctrines and institutions of Christ.

17. *We declare*, That public social covenanting is a moral duty, the observance of which is not required at stated times, but on extraordinary occasions, as the providence of God and the circumstances of the church may indicate. It is seasonable in times of great danger to the church, in times of exposure to backsliding, or in times of reformation, when the church is returning to God from a state of backsliding. When the church has entered into such covenant transactions, they continue to bind posterity faithfully to adhere to and prosecute the grand object for which such engagements have been entered into.

18. *We declare*, That it is the will of God that the songs contained in the Book of Psalms be sung in his worship, both public and private, to the end of the world; and in singing God's praise these songs should be employed to the exclusion of the devotional compositions of uninspired men.

As the time approached for the consummation of the union, those who had labored and prayed for it became very anxious that peace, harmony, and unanimity might characterize it. As a means to secure all this, a convention was called to meet at Xenia, O., on the 24th of March, 1858, to seek by united prayer the outpouring of the Holy Spirit upon the churches, that they might be enabled to come together in true love and confidence. A very large number of ministers and laymen from all parts of the church assembled and spent nearly three days in prayer and praise and conference, with the happiest effect, and

then adjourned to meet in Allegheny, Pa., just before the assembling of the Synods, where the same delightful experience was repeated.

Under these circumstances the two Synods met on the 19th of May, 1858, the Associate in Pittsburg and the Associate Reformed in Allegheny, when the following joint action was taken by both Synods:

WHEREAS it is understood that the "Testimony" submitted to the General Synod of the Associate Reformed Church by the Associate Synod was proposed and accepted as a term of communion, on the adoption of which the union of the two churches was to be consummated; and WHEREAS it is agreed between the two churches that the forbearance in love, which is required by the law of God, will be exercised toward any brethren who may not be able fully to subscribe the standards of the United Church, while they do not determinedly oppose them, but follow the things which make for peace and things wherewith one may edify another:

1. *Resolved*, That these churches, when united, shall be called the United Presbyterian Church of North America.

[2–6. Resolutions provide for the arranging of Presbyteries, Synods, and a General Assembly.]

7. *Resolved*, That these and other regulations found necessary, being agreed upon by the respective Synods at the present meeting, the two Synods shall meet at such place as shall mutually be agreed upon, and, after addresses by Dr. Rodgers and Dr. Pressly and the Rev. J. P. Smart and the Rev. J. Prestley, be constituted with prayer by the senior moderator, after which a moderator and clerk shall be chosen by the United Church.

In accordance with the arrangements thus made, the two Synods met together in the City Hall of Pittsburg, at ten o'clock, on the 26th of May, 1858, and after prayer and praise and the contemplated addresses, the new body was constituted with prayer by the Rev. Dr. Donald C. McLaren, moderator of the Associate Reformed General Synod, and Dr. John T. Pressly was chosen by acclamation as the moderator of the new body, as a grateful recognition of his invaluable services in promoting the cause of union for twenty years, and in securing its happy termination.

CHAPTER IX.

THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

THE first General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church met on the 18th of May, 1859, in Xenia, O., was opened with a sermon by Dr. Pressly, and by him constituted with prayer. Dr. Peter Bullions, of Troy, N. Y., was elected moderator, and Dr. James Prestley, stated clerk. The principal work of this Assembly was to organize the executive machinery of the new body. It was decided to place the beneficent operations of the church in the hands of Boards, elected by and subject to the supervision of the General Assembly. These Boards were of Foreign Missions, of Home Missions, of Church Extension, of Publication, and of Education. In 1863 a Board of Freedmen's Missions was added, and in 1862 an Aged Ministers' Fund was organized, which in 1873 developed into a Board of Ministerial Relief. In March, 1860, the General Assembly was incorporated by the legislature of Pennsylvania, and its trustees are thus the legal agents of the church in all her interests outside the chartered Boards.

The influences and impulses of the union of 1858 were very benign and happy. A baptism from on high evidently rested upon the new church, reviving and quickening her in her inner as well as in her outer life, so that she developed a commendable degree of zeal and of life and of well-directed activity.

But few incidents have marked the course of the United

Presbyterian Church. She has done her work quietly, and at the same time tried to meet her responsibilities arising from her surroundings and from the general progress of the age. Her effort has been, not only to bring sinners into her fold, but also to guard and promote their purity when in. The Assembly early put itself on record, in reference to amusements, one of the most difficult problems of social life, by resolving:

> That the members of the church be exhorted to avoid all association with men of the world in vain and ensnaring recreations, such as promiscuous dancing, theatrical exhibitions, and such like amusements as are adapted to alienate the affections from God and expose the Christian character to reproach, and that pastors and sessions be careful to warn those under their care in relation to the danger of having any fellowship with the world in any such practice.

The question was asked, "Are sessions, in receiving persons from the denomination of Arians called *Christians*, to require that they be re-baptized?" The Assembly answered: "That in our judgment such applicants for fellowship in the church should be regarded as unbaptized persons, inasmuch as a community of Arians, denying the true and proper divinity of Jesus and his atonement, by whatever name they may be denominated, is not entitled to be considered as a part of the visible church of Christ." The validity of papal baptism was also answered: "That while as a general rule papal baptism should be regarded as invalid, yet it is believed by many in the church that there are important exceptions to this rule; therefore this Assembly judges it expedient to leave the question of rebaptizing persons from the papal church to the discretion of sessions."

The publication of a book upon church fellowship by one of the pastors produced some local agitation, and a request was sent up to the Assembly of 1868 to fix more definitely the authority of sessions in the admission of

members. This the Assembly declined to do, upon the ground that the law of the church was sufficiently explicit already, and that anything further was unnecessary, because "the sixteenth article of our 'Testimony' lays down the general rule on the subject of communion, by which the church is to be governed in all ordinary cases. It was not designed to make provision for cases of an *extraordinary* nature. When cases of this kind occur, sessions, in the exercise of a wise discretion, must dispose of them as may be for the peace and edification of the church."

The subject of temperance, in all its phases, has been repeatedly before the Assembly, and the following resolutions, selected from the many passed at different times, will show the unequivocal position of the church upon this subject.

That the business of manufacturing and vending intoxicating drinks for drinking purposes is injurious to the best interests of society, and therefore inconsistent with the law of God, which requires "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

That the practice of renting houses to be occupied by those who are engaged in the manufacture and sale of intoxicating drinks to be used as a beverage, or for immoral purposes, is utterly inconsistent with the honor of the Christian religion.

That it is inconsistent with membership in the Church of Christ to use or be engaged in the manufacture or sale of intoxicating liquors as a beverage.

That church sessions have full authority, and it is their duty, to enforce the principle of total abstinence where in the exercise of a sound discretion they have reason to believe the safety of the individual and the honor of religion require it.

That it is the imperative duty of all the followers of Christ to abstain from the use of intoxicating drinks of every kind, and that such abstinence is necessary to a consistent Christian life.

That every church-member should consider himself as pledged, by the obligations which he assumes, to total abstinence from all intoxicating liquors as a beverage.

That individual Christians should use all proper means for the suppression of the liquor traffic—legal prohibition, moral suasion, and the practice of total abstinence.

That all measures of license or tax are wrong in principle and a failure in practice.

That we regard this traffic as an evil which can never be removed without political action, and that we regard its entire prohibition as the most pressing political question of the times; and that it therefore becomes our duty as Christian citizens, in the careful and prayerful use of the ballot, to meet this question directly.

That we recognize in the Women's Christian Temperance Union a powerful and most efficient ally in the war against the enemy of "God and Home and Native Land," and we bid them God-speed in their patient, persistent, heroic, and prayerful efforts to make effective their great battle-cry, "The saloon must go."

The exclusive use of the Psalms of Scripture in formal acts of praise has always been one of the distinctive peculiarities of the Scottish Presbyterian churches in this country. They brought Rouse's version, as improved and authorized by the Church of Scotland, with them from their fatherland, and continued to use it because they regarded it as the most faithful poetic translation of the original. Its literary imperfections were well known, and the desirableness and even necessity of some improvement were early felt. As early as 1809 the Associate Reformed General Synod appointed a committee to see what could be done in the matter. In 1825 the attention of the Associate Church was called to this subject, and eventually a committee was appointed to do something. In 1835 the Associate Reformed Synod of New York appointed a committee to procure an improved version, and soon afterward the Synod of the West did the same. None of these movements accomplished their immediate object, and yet they did much to prepare the way. They voiced a strong desire in the church, and they made the subject a familiar topic of conversation among the ministers and the people, and thus did something toward liberalizing that ultra-conservatism which stands in the way of every advance. They educated the tastes and wishes of the people so as to make the introduction of a new version possible, and the various committees appointed spent considerable time

and labor in their work, and accumulated a large amount of matter which was utilized in the final accomplishment of the work.

The first General Assembly took up this matter just where the Synods had laid it down, and appointed a committee to continue the work, with the instruction, "That the version of the Book of Psalms now used by the United Presbyterian Church be retained without any change that would affect its integrity. And to be used in connection with this it is desirable to have an entirely new version of equal fidelity, and up to the present state of literature and laws of versification." This committee, in connection with the Board of Publication, had the subject under consideration for ten years, and then submitted an amended edition of the version in use, and also other versions of nearly all the Psalms in a variety of meters. These were approved by the Assembly in 1871, and authorized to be used, and were very soon and very generally introduced into the churches. These Psalms were soon set to appropriate music and published together as the Psalter of the church.

Children are generally fond of lively, quick, moving tunes, and the conviction became strong that much of the solemn and stately music which befitted the congregation was not equally suitable to the Sabbath-school; and as the children are the future church, it was felt that their tastes and aptitude should be consulted. To meet this want, a smaller book, "Bible Songs," has been prepared. It consists of selections from the authorized versions of the Psalms with music to suit the taste of the young, and especially designed for use in the Sabbath-school and in the meetings of the Young People's Christian Union. The result of all this has been a greatly improved service of song, equal in all essential things to that of any of the sister churches.

The Directory of Worship of the United Presbyterian Church, in common with that of all its antecedents, prohibited the use of instrumental music in church praises. But as the culture of music became more general and musical instruments more numerous in our homes, there was a growing desire, especially among the young, to carry the musical culture of the family into the praises of the sanctuary. The subject was overtured to the presbyteries, and it resulted, in 1882, in the removal of the prohibitory rule from the Directory, thereby leaving the church without any express law on the subject. Many congregations, feeling that they were now at liberty to do as they pleased, have introduced instruments into their church services, and still more into their Sabbath-schools and Young People's Meetings.

Many years ago female missionary societies were more or less common in many of the congregations, but only as part of the machinery for raising the annual contribution to the church boards. There was no effort toward the diffusion of intelligence or the excitement of a missionary spirit. Their work was done quietly and according to established routine. But in the process of time, as the church grew more active and evangelistic, and social customs relaxed and changed, allowing greater freedom to women, they became more interested and gave themselves more intelligently and heartily to church work. Congregational societies were formed all over the church, and to help and stimulate each other they formed closer relations and combined into presbyterial and synodic organizations. In recognition of their valuable assistance the General Assembly encouraged them to form a general missionary society to cover the whole church, and to work through a regularly incorporated "Women's Board," auxiliary to the established boards of the church. A missionary magazine

has been established as its organ, and much assistance has been rendered in building parsonages for feeble churches in important fields, in supporting female helpers in the home fields and female missionaries in the foreign work, and supporting two hospitals in India.

When the Christian Endeavor movement started up, and appealed to the young in all the churches to make an organized effort to raise the standard of their own piety, and also to do what they could for the conversion of the young people around them, the United Presbyterian Church quickly sympathized with it, and made arrangements for a denominational organization of this kind, and named it the "Young People's Christian Union." It was readily and heartily taken up by the people, and nearly every congregation has a society, and a convention composed of delegates from all these is held every year, to encourage and stimulate each other, and to devise measures for greater usefulness. The movement thus far has been healthy, and has certainly helped to develop the young mentally and morally, and enable them to take a more willing and active part in church work.

CHAPTER X.

EDUCATION.

OUR ecclesiastical ancestors were stern Calvinists, and the teachings and necessities of their religion constrained them to bring the schoolmaster with them. And although generally poor in this world's goods when they landed upon our shores, yet they made great personal sacrifices to establish educational institutions at the earliest possible time. And what they did in this line was not to promote learning for its own sake, but to make it auxiliary to the advancement of religious truth. They built their schoolhouse near their church, and very often hired the schoolmaster before they settled their pastor. The facilities for an extended education were not at once within their reach, but the means for the acquisition of a fair primary education were at once provided for and utilized by their children. And in so doing they always united education and religion, and never allowed them to be separated either in the schoolhouse or the church. They believed that the exclusive education of the head might develop infidelity, just as the exclusive education of the heart might result in fanaticism. So to make the well-balanced man, they united the education of the head and of the heart, and they generally succeeded.

Before the advent of free schools the Westminster Shorter Catechism was taught in all our day-schools, and every family was then a Sabbath-school. A new question was exacted of the beginner every Monday morning, and

the whole was repeated on Saturday. And there were no exempts. If a child from a Lutheran or Methodist family was in the school, he went through the whole curriculum, and his parents were glad to have it so. After mastering the headings in the spelling-book and some primer, the only other reading-book was the Bible. The New Testament was read by the junior class, and the Old Testament by the seniors. Reverence for God and man was thus inculcated, and good manners were also taught, so that if a scholar allowed a stranger to pass without a bow or a curtsey it was at the risk of chastisement.

In proportion to her numbers and wealth this church stands second to no denomination in the country in her effort to establish and sustain schools of a higher order. The first classical school west of the Susquehanna was established by the Rev. Alexander Dobbin, at Rock Creek, now Gettysburg, Pa., where between 1788 and 1799 he prepared for college scores of young men who became eminent in both church and State. The pioneer academy in New York north of Albany was opened in 1780, at Salem, and the same course was pursued all through the West, in Chillicothe, O., Lexington, Ky., etc. She helped to establish Jefferson College, at Canonsburg, Pa., and the Western University, at Pittsburg, and Franklin College, at New Athens, O., and Transylvania University, at Lexington, Ky., and Miami University, at Oxford, O. And then, realizing that it was safe, if not the safest, for the church to educate her own youth in institutions under her immediate control, she successfully established Westminster College, at New Wilmington, Pa., Muskingum College, at New Concord, O., Monmouth College, at Monmouth, Ill., Tarkio College, at Tarkio, Mo., and Cooper Memorial, at Sterling, Kan. And these are all open to both male and female professors and students, and of the latter sex there

are not a few. This is certainly a fair showing for one of the small tribes of Israel, which can boast of very few members of large wealth. The money has been contributed by the small gifts of those in moderate circumstances.

And in the matter of theological education the United Presbyterian Church is a pioneer in this country. The men who first planted her banners here had received a thorough university training, and were never disposed to lower the standard by the admission of half-educated exhorters. Sorely as she needed more laborers, she was not willing to provide any short cut into the ministry. For some time she had to import her helpers from abroad, but this supply was insufficient and precarious, and had a tendency to keep the church as an exotic in the land. As soon as the independence of our country was recognized and quiet secured, the training of ministers became a pressing question, and the Reformed Dutch Church led the way, and formally opened a theological school on the 19th of May, 1785, in the Garden Street Church in New York City, under the administration of Dr. J. H. Livingston and Dr. H. Meyer, which still lives in New Brunswick, N. J. The United Presbyterian Church in both her branches came next. On the 21st of April, 1794, Dr. John Anderson was elected professor of theology by the Associate Church, and a two-story log building was immediately erected at Service Creek, Beaver County, Pa., the lower story to serve as a library and lecture-room, and the upper as a dormitory for the students. The course of study covered four winters, but was not as extensive in its range of subjects as it is now in our highly endowed seminaries, but as far as it did go it was more thorough. It was confined very largely to an exhibition of Scripture truths, with the suggestive help of Dr. John Marck's "Medulla and Compend," and no diligent student could

fail to become very familiar with the Bible in its letter and substance and spirit. There was not so much secondary or miscellaneous knowledge crowded in as to push the Bible aside—a mistake from which all modern seminaries are not altogether free. This seminary was transferred in 1821 to Canonsburg, and in 1855 to Xenia, O., where, with a faculty of four professors, it is still doing a good work.

In the Associate Reformed Synod, the other branch of the United Presbyterian Church, an act was passed in 1796 to provide a fund for the assisting of pious young men into the ministry, and also to raise means for the establishment of a theological school. To further this latter, Dr. John M. Mason visited Great Britain in 1801, and remained almost a year abroad collecting books and money. But it was not until November, 1805, that the seminary opened in New York with eight students, under the presidency of Dr. Mason. The course covered four years, the annual session continued seven months. This "Mason Seminary," as it was very frequently called, became quite celebrated, and educated many distinguished men. At the union of 1822 it was suspended, but in 1829 was reopened at Newburg, N. Y., where it did a good work until 1878, when it was closed. The four seminaries of the church have been consolidated into two, and thus the expense has been reduced, while the efficiency of those that remain has been increased.

When the Associate Reformed Synod of the West became an independent body, it also took immediate measures to educate its own ministers, and in 1825 established a theological school in Pittsburg, which has since been moved across the river to Allegheny. Here, after educating nearly a thousand young men, it still exists, well housed and partly endowed, and has a faculty of four

resident professors. In 1839 this Synod opened a second seminary, at Oxford, O., which was subsequently moved to Monmouth, Ill., and finally combined with the seminary previously located at Xenia, O.

The church always has insisted upon a thorough training for the ministry, exacting a full collegiate course, with the addition of at least three years of special theological study. This has been done in the belief that what the church loses in the three or four years of delay in entering upon the ministry is more than gained in the greater efficiency secured by the better preparation. While the church has thus always had well-trained men in her ministry, very few of them have distinguished themselves as authors. This has not been for lack of ability, but mainly from a want of opportunity. The church has never abounded in this world's goods, and has had no places of ease and leisure where its ministers could pursue favorite lines of investigation. Their pastoral charges have generally been laborious, and called for all their time and talent, so that very few have attempted anything beyond a single volume, or magazine articles or newspaper contributions.

CHAPTER XI.

THE BOARDS OF THE CHURCH.

To concentrate and economize her resources, the church has committed her evangelistic work to the direction of boards, the members of which are chosen by the General Assembly. The Board of Home Missions has the oversight of the field to be supplied and cultivated, and also of all the licentiates and unsettled ministers who are willing to receive appointments, and assigns them their places. It thus tries to supply the needy with the gospel, and also to bring ministers into contact with vacant congregations that are seeking pastors. It has always found a very wide field—a field both needy and solicitous, even importunate—and its success has been exceedingly gratifying. The Board of Church Extension coöperates with it, and has assisted hundreds of missions and feeble congregations to build their churches and parsonages, many of which could never have been able to maintain their existence without such help. By making new congregations more quickly self-supporting and contributing churches, this board has saved to the Home Mission funds a larger amount of money than has been expended in help to build houses.

Just as soon as the Civil War began to interfere with slavery in the border States, the United Presbyterian Church, in accordance with her antislavery principles, began to look after the waifs that were cast upon the world without home or friend. When the government established "contraband camps" to care for the fugitive slaves, the church sent to them teachers and preachers, male and

female, to talk and preach, and teach day-schools and night-schools and Sabbath-schools. These camps were temporary, and constantly changing their location and inmates, according to the fortunes of war, and the church's work had to change accordingly. Everything was disjointed and unorganized and haphazard until the war was over and society settled down. Then the General Assembly established a "Board of Missions to the Freedmen," the object of which "shall be to educate the freemen of the South in secular and religious knowledge, by establishing and supporting schools and churches among them, and by such other means as are appropriate to missionary operations." The board soon realized that the colored church in the South must be enlightened and reformed and built up by native instrumentalities of its own color and production, and so it devotes its efforts mainly to train a body of well-educated and spiritually enlightened ministers and teachers. Large and flourishing schools and congregations have been established and maintained at Miller's Ferry, Ala., Chase City, and Bluestone, Va., Henderson, N. C., and Athens, Tenn. There is also in Norfolk, Va., a collegiate institute, with high-school and normal school departments, with an enrollment of from six to eight hundred students. And in Knoxville, Tenn., there is a college with a full faculty and a large enrollment of students, which has a primary, a high-school, a normal, a scientific, a commercial, an industrial, a classical, and a theological department, and is authorized to give diplomas in the arts and sciences. The good accomplished by these institutions has not been merely local, for they have sent forth hundreds of well-instructed males and females who are employed as teachers in the schools of nearly all the Southern States. And as these have all been carefully instructed in the Scriptures while in school, and many of

them converted, they work, to some extent, as domestic missionaries in their respective localities.

The United Presbyterian Church has always recognized that it was a "debtor both to the Greeks and to the barbarians," and that its commission was, "Go ye and teach all nations." Both of its original branches undertook foreign missionary work before they were sufficiently strong to secure success, the one in India and the other in the island of Trinidad. But failure here did not discourage them from further effort, for in 1844 the Associate Reformed Church established a mission in Damascus, in Syria, with special reference to the descendants of Abraham, eight thousand of whom resided in that ancient city, of which Eliezer, the steward of Abram's house, was a native. The missionaries were instructed to address themselves "to the Jew first, and also to the Gentile." This field had been regarded as a particularly hard one—so unpromising, from Jewish bigotry and Mohammedan fanaticism, that other churches that had planted mission stations in Syria had not hitherto seen their way clear to enter Damascus. But the result was a fair degree of success, and Irish and Scottish missionaries came and joined with them. In 1853 the mission was divided and several of the missionaries were sent to Cairo, in Egypt, to begin a work there. During the massacre of 1860 some of the missionaries were killed, and all the others were compelled to flee. After the trouble had passed the mission was again rebuilt in Damascus, but subsequently transferred to the Presbyterian Church of Ireland, which still maintains it, that more force might be concentrated upon the work in Egypt. And in this land of the Pharaohs the missionaries have been remarkably blessed. After many trials and rebuffs they have secured not only government protection, but even government favor and patronage in many

things. They have stations in the principal cities of the Delta, and scattered all along the Nile, from Mansoora to Assouan. They have a college and a female seminary at Asyoot, with a very respectable course of study, and a large enrollment of students from the towns in upper Egypt, also a theological seminary and a monthly periodical in Cairo. This mission reported, in 1893, 31 organized congregations, 125 mission stations, with a roll of 3891 communicants; also 113 day-schools and 7313 scholars, and 117 Sabbath-schools, with 6266 scholars. There are 44 foreign missionaries, 30 native ministers, and 251 other native helpers. The churches contributed, during 1892, $10,888 for their own support. The schools raised $13,538, and the Sabbath-schools $300. Including Scriptures, religious and educational books, 38,455 volumes were sold for $8244. This mission is having a very positive and healthy influence upon both the government and people of Egypt, for a very large portion of the clerks in the service of the government and of the post-office and the railroads have been educated in its schools, and are familiar with the doctrines of Christianity. And the success of these schools has stimulated the government and the Coptic Church to establish more and better schools in competition with the "American" schools.

In 1854 the Associate Church sent out three missionaries to found a mission in India. They selected the city of Sialkot, in the Punjaub, had many difficulties to contend with, and were almost wrecked by the Sepoy rebellion and massacre. But by perseverance and hard work, with the divine blessing, they succeeded and established a good and firm basis, and as the work widened and new missionaries arrived, they occupied new places, until they have stretched across the whole northeastern end of the Land of the Five Rivers, from Gurdaspur to Rawal Pindi. Con-

gregations have been organized, schools have been established, including a college and theological seminary. The missionary force has so increased, both foreign and native, as to be distributed into three Presbyteries under the care of a Synod, and the communion roll contains 6750 names. Much of the success of this mission can be traced to the fact that they "sow beside all waters." Other and older missions had tried to bring their teaching to bear especially upon members of the higher castes, supposing that when such are converted they would exert a stronger influence upon general society. This mission has acted upon a different plan: while it neglects no caste, it pays special attention to the lowest castes, and even those below all caste, because they are the most accessible and impressible, and more souls can be saved. And also because the reformation and elevation of persons so low become object-lessons which illustrate the transforming and elevating power of Christianity much more strongly than could the conversion of high-caste persons, in whom the apparent change must necessarily be much less.

The Board of Education has been very efficient in helping a large number of young men into the ministry of the church, and the Board of Ministerial Relief has brought joy and comfort to many disabled and superannuated ministers, and to the widows and orphans of those who had given their time and talents to the work of the church rather than to the laying up of worldly gain. The Board of Publication owns a well-equipped business house in Pittsburg, and supplies the church with all necessary denominational literature, particularly Psalters and "Bible Songs," and Sabbath-school papers and lesson helps. The church is fully supplied with all the organizations and machinery necessary for the carrying on of healthy and aggressive church work at home and abroad.

The growth of the United Presbyterian Church has not been rapid, and never spasmodic, and yet it has always made steady and healthy progress. Its annual percentage of increase has been fully up to that of a majority of the other denominations of our country. Excluded from the South because of slavery, it has had but little opportunity to expand in that direction, although the early settlers belonged to that class of people that was favorable to its creed and its worship. And it did have in Kentucky and the Carolinas a very respectable membership, until slavery became the dominant issue. South of the Ohio it has now but one small Presbytery in Tennessee, and in the great Northwest, into which Scandinavians and other Northern peoples are crowding, it has only a few scattered congregations. Its home is in the middle belt of country that stretches across our continent. It was planted there by and among the Scotch-Irish, and as migration generally follows the same latitude, it moved westward with the people, planting its congregations more or less thickly from Boston on the Atlantic to San Diego and Seattle on the Pacific. If its creed had been more elastic and its entrance wider, it could have boasted of greater numbers.

CHAPTER XII.

DENOMINATIONAL ATTITUDE.

DENOMINATIONALISM is not necessarily either sin or schism, although by arrogance and intolerance it may become both. Wisely and properly used, it is a gracious arrangement of Providence adapted to the mental and emotional diversities of men. It always has existed, and there is nothing in the Scriptures or reason why it should not continue to exist. "Can two walk together except they be agreed?" Men will differ in tastes and temperaments, so that they can worship and labor most pleasantly and profitably with those of like feelings and opinions; and unity and affection are often subserved and promoted by keeping the incongruous apart. The bringing together of such would not produce unity, but collision.

The history of sectarianism clearly reveals the fact that every denomination has a special and specific reason for its segregation. That reason may not commend itself to the judgment of the student that views it objectively as an outsider and a stranger, but studied from the inner and more favorable standpoint of a member trained to a kindly familiarity with it, it reveals to him a beauty and a power that satisfy his mind and make its avowal a duty. The United Presbyterian Church has, or claims to have, specific and sufficient grounds for its separate and independent existence without schism: and that while it is glad to recognize and work with all other Christians who hold, in common with it, so many precious gospel truths, still there

are certain truths of vital importance which it considers a pleasure and duty to emphasize with special force. And foremost of these are the crown rights of Jesus—rights that would crown him Lord of all.

Both of the parties which joined to form the United Presbyterian Church had their origin in the defense of the headship of Jesus in the church. When Charles II. came to the throne of Great Britain, he arrogated to himself the right to dictate to the Church of Scotland, and, through the Cabal in Edinburgh, forced upon it a government and discipline and worship contrary to its own Confession and the consciences of its members. Many were grieved by this subjection of the church to the state, yet only a few had the courage to resist unto blood against the dethronement of their ascended Lord. These contended that Christ's kingdom was not of this world, and that the civil ruler, as such, had no right to give it laws or dispense its privileges, for that our God-man Mediator was its living Head and only Law-giver. For their loyalty to these crown rights of Jesus they suffered the cruelest possible persecution for many years, and when toleration did come it only brought relief to the body and not to the conscience, for the new king claimed a royal supremacy in the church, and they renewed their protest, and their children in this country cherished their memory and taught their creed.

The other Scottish ancestor of the United Presbyterian Church sprang from the same cause, a contest for the royal prerogatives of Jesus. The civil government had so invaded the autonomy of the church as to force upon it a system of patronage which disfranchised its freemen and subjected its courts and pulpits to the dictation of strangers who were also in many instances reprobates. Some, who would not submit quietly to see Jesus thus

dishonored and dethroned, protested and stood upon the defense, and bore reproach and persecution and worldly loss. What the Covenanters and Seceders thus did the followers of the Relief and of the Free Church have since felt constrained to do, even with less cause.

When these parties in this country came to see eye to eye, they inscribed the headship of Christ high upon their banner, and the Associate Reformed Church was the first of the American churches to alter the Westminster Confession of Faith on the subject of the civil magistrate, and to exclude from it all traces of Erastianism. The United Presbyterian Church has been true to the faith and traditions of its ancestors, and has given special prominence to the declaration:

> That our Lord Jesus Christ, besides the dominion which belongs to him as God, has, as our God-man Mediator, a twofold dominion with which he has been invested by the Father, as the reward of his sufferings. These are: a dominion over the church, of which he is the living Head and Lawgiver, and the Source of all that divine influence and authority by which she is sustained and governed; and also a dominion over all created persons and things, which is exercised by him in subserviency to the manifestation of God's glory in the system of redemption and the interests of his church.

The United Presbyterian Church, through all its history, has also been unchanging in its loyalty to the Bible, regarding it as *the Word of God*, and, as such, necessarily *inerrant*. For all its creed and works it exacts a "Thus saith the Lord," and holds that all church courts are only executive bodies that have no right to legislate or to shape the faith and practices of the church upon the ground merely of taste or sentiment or expediency or availability. Their business is to carry out wisely and further efficiently just what the Word of God teaches and warrants. This conservatism gives rise to what may be regarded as special peculiarities.

The church restricts its formal praise service to the

Psalms of the Bible, because they have been given by the Spirit to be used in praise, and have been sung with joy and comfort by Jesus and the apostles and martyrs and Huguenots and Covenanters and Puritans, and are therefore certainly safe and profitable, and adapted to every age and condition. It restricts sacramental communion to those *known* to be reputable professors, because its duty is to keep pure and entire all such religious worship and ordinances as God hath appointed in his Word, and to preserve purity and discipline in his house. It also excludes all those that bind themselves together by oath to secrecy, or obedience to a code of unknown laws, because that might lead into diverse temptations, and restrict or violate that law of love and wide fraternity which says, "Sirs, ye are brethren."

But this church is not founded upon such distinctives alone, for it teaches the Calvinistic theology in its purity and fullness. It is not open to the charge of narrowness, which some indeed have ignorantly alleged against it, for its basis is unusually wide—too wide for the liberal theologian of the day. Whatever the Holy Spirit has deemed of sufficient importance to reveal, it regards of sufficient importance to believe and teach. It has especially emphasized certain fundamental doctrines, which it thinks are too much overlooked or underestimated in our day, to the reception of which it requires both ministers and members to assent—such as the plenary inspiration of the Scriptures, the eternal sonship of Christ, human inability, nature and extent of the atonement, imputed righteousness, the gospel offer, saving faith, evangelical repentance, the believer's deliverance from the law as a covenant, and the work of the Holy Spirit.

Guarding thus the theology of the pulpit and of the pews, the United Presbyterian Church thinks it has a place

and a mission. It is homogeneous, and leaves no place for a faction to war upon its creed. It has never lowered its standard for the sake of numbers, or employed human expedients to gain popularity, or in any way made an effort simply to please the people. Conservative in faith yet aggressive in works, it has found hitherto no better way to reach the masses than by preaching plainly and fully the old story of the cross, in connection with a simple worship, and in entire dependence upon the Holy Spirit for the fruit. And the Lord has graciously granted a fair measure of success.

STATISTICS OF 1893.

Synods	12
Presbyteries	62
Ministers	891
Members	111,000
Congregations	935
Sabbath-schools	1,156
Teachers and scholars	108,023
Congregational Missionary Societies	861
Young People's Societies	664
Members of same	29,000
Parsonages	257
Congregational expenses	$1,000,000
Contributions to the Boards	$300,000
Other contributions	$100,000
Average per member	$14
Males	44,000
Females	67,000

A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY

OF THE

CUMBERLAND PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

BY

ROBERT V. FOSTER,

PROFESSOR OF BIBLICAL EXEGESIS IN THE THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL OF CUMBERLAND UNIVERSITY, LEBANON, TENNESSEE.

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[1] All the books here mentioned, unless otherwise stated, are published by the Cumberland Presbyterian Publication House, Nashville, Tenn.

THE CUMBERLAND PRESBYTERIANS.

CHAPTER I.

ORIGIN AND NAME.

THE first Presbytery of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church was organized on the fourth day of February, 1810. The three ministers who organized it were Finis Ewing, Samuel King, and Samuel McAdow. It was named Cumberland Presbytery for the two following reasons:

1. The country in which it originated—a portion of southwestern Kentucky and an adjoining part of Tennessee—was known in those days as the Cumberland country. The Cumberland River flowed through it; Nashville was not far within its southern border; and near its western extremity, in what is now called Dixon County, Tenn., the Presbytery was organized.

2. There had been a Presbytery in the "mother" church called Cumberland Presbytery. It had been created by the Kentucky Synod in 1802, and was the southwestern part of the divided Transylvania Presbytery. In October, 1805, it held its last meeting, and in 1806 it was formally dissolved by the Kentucky Synod. When the ministers above mentioned, and who had been members of it, reorganized it independently, they gave it the old name. And that is the reason why there happens to be a Cumberland Presbyterian Church—so far, at least, as the name is concerned.

CHAPTER II.

CAUSES.

But why did the Kentucky Synod of the Presbyterian Church dissolve its Cumberland Presbytery? The answer in brief is: It all grew out of that event, so notable in the early history of Presbyterianism in this country, "the revival of 1800." There were no schools in those days for it to grow out of. The country abounded chiefly in unsaved souls, sparse though the population then would now be called. Presbyterianism was relatively strong, but it was not adapting itself to its situation; it was not meeting the evangelical demands made upon it by its surroundings; it lacked the divine skill to protect its orthodoxy and evangelize the country at the same time. Events have shown, even to its own satisfaction, that it was not as wise as a serpent, and that consequently it was not as harmless as a dove—not in its actions, at least, whatever may be said of its heart. And so it naturally came to pass that every imagination of the thoughts of men's hearts, in the Cumberland country, and in the Transylvania country also, was growing evil continually, and the outward indifference toward evangelical religion corresponded, of course, with the prevailing inward infidelity. If the current Presbyterianism did not, either positively or negatively, inculcate fatalism and encourage an unwholesome formalism, it was popularly supposed to do so, and not many Presbyterian ministers, it seems, took any special pains to make men see to the contrary. If they did, they failed.

In this connection the name of James McGready is one

always to be mentioned. It was under his evangelistic ministry in the Cumberland country that matters were rapidly moved on to the crisis. He was born in North Carolina, but studied under the Rev. John McMillan in western Pennsylvania.

About 1786 he, by accident, overheard a conversation between two of his friends, of which he was the subject. They freely expressed their views about his religious character, declaring that, though a minister in the Presbyterian Church, he was a mere formalist, a stranger to regenerating grace. This led him to earnest self-examination and prayer, and at a sacramental meeting near the Monongahela River he found the new spiritual life which his friends had declared he lacked. This new experience transformed his whole life. Thenceforth he made it his mission to arouse false professors, to awaken a dead church, and warn sinners and lead them to seek the new spiritual life which he himself had found. In North Carolina, whither he went as pastor, extensive revivals were kindled. His ministry also aroused fierce opposition. He was accused of "running people distracted," diverting them from necessary avocations, "creating needless alarm about their souls." The opposers, we are told, went so far at one time as to tear away and burn his pulpit, and send him a threatening letter written in blood.[1]

McGready moved to Logan County, Ky.—a part of the Cumberland country—in 1796, and became the pastor of several Presbyterian churches. Here, as in North Carolina, his sermons were "a ringing alarm," and everywhere either awakened penitence or aroused opposition; and the opposition, strange to say, was encouraged and led by those who should rather have been foremost in seeking and saving the lost. They taught the people that they need not give themselves any trouble on the subject of experimental religion, and one of them went about the country ridiculing in his sermons "the doctrines of faith, of repentance, and of regeneration."[2] But many were not of this sort. In 1803 the Rev. David Rice, of the Kentucky Synod, preached a sermon before that body in reference to this revival. His testimony is perhaps worth quoting here at some length,

[1] Dr. J. M. Howard in Hays's "Presbyterians."
[2] Dr. McMullen's MS., quoted in McDonnold's "History."

as it is unprejudiced evidence that the revivalists were no fantastic New Lights, and that the work was due to a genuine outpouring of God's Spirit. He says:

This revival has made its appearance in various places without any extraordinary means to produce it. . . . The revival appears to be granted in answer to prayer, and in confirmation of that gracious truth that God has "not said to the house of Jacob, Seek ye me in vain," when he says he will be inquired of by the house of Israel to do it for them.

As far as I can see, there appears to be in the subjects of this work a deep, heart-humbling sense of the great unreasonableness, abominable nature, pernicious effects, and deadly consequences of sin; and the absolute unworthiness in the sinful creature of the smallest crumb of mercy from the hand of a holy God. . . . Jesus Christ, and him crucified, appears to be the "all in all" to the subjects of this revival, and the creature nothing, and less than nothing.

They seem to have a very deep and affecting sense of the worth of precious immortal souls, ardent love to them, and an agonizing concern for their conviction, conversion, and complete salvation. . . . Neighborhoods noted for their vicious and profligate manners are now as much noted for their piety and good order. Drunkards, profane swearers, liars, quarrelsome persons, etc., are remarkably reformed. . . . A number of families who had lived apparently without the fear of God, in folly and in vice, without any religious instruction or any proper government, are now reduced to order, and are daily joining in the worship of God, reading his Word, singing his praises, and offering up their supplications to a throne of grace.

Parents who seemed formerly to have little or no regard for the salvation of their children are now anxiously concerned for their salvation, are pleading for them, and endeavoring to lead them to Christ and train them up in the way of piety and virtue. . . .

The subjects of this work appear to be very sensible of the necessity of sanctification as well as justification, and that holiness without which no man can see the Lord; to be desirous that they and all that name the name of Christ should depart from iniquity. . . .

Now I have given you my reasons for concluding *the morning is come*, and that we are blessed with a real revival of the benign and heaven-born religion of Jesus Christ, which demands our grateful acknowledgments to God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.[1]

Numerous similar testimonies might be quoted from such Presbyterians as the Rev. David Nelson, the Rev. Dr.

[1] Quoted in McDonnold's "History," from the Rev. Dr. Speer, whose history and unqualified indorsement of the revival was published by the Presbyterian Publishing Board, Philadelphia.

George Baxter, and the Rev. Dr. A. Alexander. For a series of years from the beginning of the revival in 1797 the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church gave its testimony to its precious fruits. In 1803 it thus speaks concerning the work in the Cumberland country:

> In many Southern and Western presbyteries revivals of a more extensive and of a more extraordinary nature have taken place. It would be easy for the Assembly to select some very remarkable instances of the triumphs of divine grace which were exhibited before them in the course of the very interesting narratives presented in the free conversation—instances of the most malignant opposers of vital piety being convinced and reconciled; of some learned, active, and conspicuous infidels becoming signal monuments of that grace which they once despised; and various circumstances which display the holy efficacy of the gospel. . . . In the course of the last year there is reason to believe that several thousands within the bounds of the Presbyterian Church have been brought to embrace the gospel of Christ. . . . The Assembly consider it worthy of particular attention that most of the accounts of revivals communicated to them stated that the institution of praying societies, or special seasons of prayer to God for the outpouring of the Spirit, preceded the remarkable displays of divine grace with which our land has been blessed. In most cases, preparatory to signal effusions of the Holy Spirit the pious have been stirred up to cry fervently and importunately that God would appear to vindicate his own cause. The Assembly see in this a confirmation of the Word of God, and an ample encouragement of the prayers and hopes of the pious for future and more extensive manifestations of the divine power. And they trust that the churches under their care, while they see cause of abundant thankfulness for this dispensation, will also perceive that it presents new motives to zeal and fervor in application to that throne of grace from which every good and perfect gift cometh. The Assembly also observe with great pleasure that the desire for spreading the gospel among the blacks and among the savage tribes on our borders has been rapidly increasing during the last year. The Assembly take notice of this circumstance with the more satisfaction, as it not only affords a pleasing presage of the spread of the gospel, but also furnishes agreeable evidence of the genuineness and the benign tendency of that spirit which God has been pleased to pour out upon his people. On the whole, the Assembly cannot but declare with joy, and with most cordial congratulations to the churches under their care, that the state and prospects of vital religion in our country are more favorable and encouraging than at any period within the last forty years.[1]

But, notwithstanding these, and all such good words by individual ministers and official bodies, the revival preach-

[1] See McDonnold's "History," p. 21.

ers in the Cumberland country were interdicted by a commission of Kentucky Synod. There were some things, of course, that were not as orderly as they might have been under less urgent circumstances; and the Kentucky revival was charged with running into Shakerism—although but one of the revival party ever joined the Shakers, and although the wealthiest and most influential acquisition which they made in that day and in that community was an anti-revival Presbyterian! "Is it not marvelous," to use the words of one of the leading Presbyterian ministers of those days, "is it not marvelous that good men can be so deluded by the wiles of the great Adversary as to become evidently eager to impute all the wrong things that may appear in that community for ten or twenty years afterward to the influence of the revival? With as much propriety you might charge the apostasy of Judas to the ministry of Jesus Christ."[1]

But the letter of the Standards must be adhered to, rather than the substance and the spirit; and so the mouths of the revivalists must be stopped—because the exigencies of the time and the country demanded that they should break the bread of life to the perishing without waiting to make a poor translation of some sentences from Cæsar; because they could not believe that God created some men and angels for no other reason than to glorify himself by damning them to eternal torment! The Rev. David Rice, a member of the Kentucky Synod, said in 1808, when the revival, so far as the Presbyterian Church was concerned, was no more:

> That we had a revival of the spirit and power of Christianity among us, I did, do, and ever shall believe; . . . but we sadly mismanaged it; we have dashed it down and broken it to pieces. . . . We have not acted as wise master-builders who have no need to be ashamed.[2]

[1] Rev. David Nelson, quoted in the "Western Sketch-book."
[2] Bishop's "Memoir of Rice."

Fifty years later the Rev. James Gallagher, a Presbyterian minister in East Tennessee, wrote a history of the revival of 1800. Writing of the suspended ministers, he says:

Certain it is that no men more regretted any departure from sound doctrines than did these good men whose labors were so abundantly blessed in that dispensation of the Holy Spirit by which the West, in its infancy, was consecrated to the service of God. Nor do I believe that now, after fifty years, there is in any part of the several evangelical denominations more of that religion which God approves than in the region visited by the revival of 1800.

And, speaking of the Cumberland Presbyterians:

This body of Christian people began their organized existence during that great divine visitation. There are among them many strong men; workmen that need not be ashamed. And their blessed Master has been with them in every part of that wide field where they have labored, and has made his gospel the power of God unto salvation to many thousand believing souls. From my inmost soul I honor these men, and will speak of it in the presence of the church of my God. . . . I have no hesitation in declaring my belief that during the last forty years no body of ministers in America or in the world have preached so much good efficient preaching, and received such small compensation. That church now stands before heaven and earth a monument of God's great work in the revival of 1800.

When the old Cumberland Presbytery was dissolved by the Synod, the revivalists, members of that Presbytery, organized themselves into a Council. This was done in order to secure concurrence and uniformity of action on their part. Various efforts were made by them to secure reconciliation, but without avail. Finally the Council appealed to the Transylvania Presbytery to act as a sort of mediator. But that Presbytery decided that no mitigation of the usual construction concerning "fatality" would be permitted in adopting the Confession of Faith.

In a formal letter which it sent as its ultimatum the Presbytery said: "With relation to those young men licensed and ordained by the aforesaid Presbytery (Cumberland), we do humbly conceive that a formal examination of them respecting doctrine and discipline is indispensable. An unequivocal adoption of the Confession of Faith is also indispensable. . . . For them to adopt the Confession of Faith only in part, and we the whole, would by no

means, in our opinion, effect a union according to truth and reality; and whatever inference may be drawn by others respecting what is called fatality from our views as expressed in the Confession of Faith, respecting divine sovereignty and the decrees of predestination and election, we conceive that no such conclusion can follow from the premises as there laid down." [1]

The members of the Council, willing neither to accept doctrines which seemed to them to be false nor to be shut out of their rights and privileges as Presbyterian ministers, prayed for redress to the General Assembly of 1809. This Assembly also had before it the minutes of the Kentucky Synod in regard to the whole matter, and also a letter from that body explaining its proceedings. The Rev. John Lyle, the old enemy of the revival, was their bearer and defender. Alas for the harm that one persistent man (or one persistent committee) can do his church! Lyle had in a high degree the dangerous "gift of tears." His weeping and impassioned appeal completely turned the tide against the Council and the revivalists. "The Assembly," says Dr. Davidson, "voted unanimously for sustaining all the actions of the Synod, and added a vote of thanks to the Synod for its fidelity; and this notwithstanding the fact that Kentucky Synod explained that the action of the commission against the ministers of what had been Cumberland Presbytery was not meant to be construed as suspension in the technical sense; and this notwithstanding the fact that the General Assembly itself had formerly sent a committee to Kentucky Synod to remonstrate with that body about the proceedings of its commission; and this notwithstanding the fact that the better opinion in the Assembly was then, and had all along been, that the work of the commission of Kentucky Synod 'was without constitutional authority and wholly void'; and notwithstanding the fact that a 'semi-official letter' of

[1] Hays's "Presbyterians."

the Assembly, prepared by the Rev. J. P. Wilson, of Philadelphia, had been sent to the Council, in which he said: 'We are glad to hear of the prudence, diligence, and success of the men you [the Cumberland Presbytery] admitted. If they hold to the form of sound words, and are steadfast in the faith, they will be as much beloved by most of us as though they had studied long and graduated.'"

But the deed was done, and, although no formal charges had ever been brought against them, and no formal trial ever held, the ministers of the revival "party" were "adrift on life's ocean." The present is always doing something which the future in its calmer hours bitterly regrets.

CHAPTER III.

THE NEW PRESBYTERY.

THE names of the members of the Council—the old Cumberland Presbytery of Kentucky Synod—were James McGready, William Hodge and his nephew, Samuel Hodge, William McGee, Samuel McAdow, Finis Ewing, and Samuel King.

McGready and the Hodges chose to resume their connection with the Synod, on such terms as were agreeable to them and to it. Samuel Hodge, however, was very defective in literary attainments, and did not begin the study of English grammar until several years after he was thus received as an ordained minister in the Presbyterian Church—from which it would seem that the authorities vacillated in their view concerning the rigidity with which the educational rule ought to be enforced. McGee, while he could not accept the doctrine of predestination as taught in the Westminster Confession, and held that "the truth lay betwixt Calvinism and Arminianism"—or, in other words, that it was exclusively neither—was yet unwilling to unite with the others in the organization of a Presbytery until a new creed could be formulated. Things stood in doubtful attitude from October, 1809, till February, 1810, on the third day of which month Finis Ewing and Samuel King repaired to the house of Samuel McAdow and laid before him the question of forming an independent Presbytery. "McAdow spent the whole night in prayer, and in the morning, February 4th, with face aglow, announced

his readiness to join in the organization." And thus it was that the new Cumberland Presbytery was constituted —and the "Cumberland Presbyterian Church" was born— in just such an "old log-house" as many a great thing, before and since, has been born in. Just as men are, so are churches, mightier than their birthplaces.

After the organization of the new Presbytery, a judicature of the mother church proceeded to silence or depose these three preachers—a proceeding which was of course harmless. As the new Presbytery grew, circulars and other publications were sent out warning the people that the new church had no right to administer ordinances. This provoked a smile from some, and drew forth from others a sharp reply. The reply held up in contrast the ordination of the first Presbyterians by Roman bishops with the ordination of Ewing, King, and McAdow by a regular Presbytery. It pointed to the fact that a large majority of the Westminster Assembly divines received their ordination from a single bishop. It called attention to the fact that neither Viret nor Farel, for example, had ever been authorized to ordain, but only to preach, when they proceeded, as they probably did, solemnly to lay ordaining hands upon Calvin. The efforts to break down the young church by this mode of attack utterly failed, and were soon abandoned. Ewing, King, and McAdow were regularly ordained ministers, as everybody knew; and everybody also knew that they had never been under any formal charges. And after all, it was as well known then as it is now that "if the validity of the Christian ministry depended on an unbroken succession of diocesan bishops, which again depends on historical proof, it would be difficult to defend" even the great Reformation of the sixeenth century. So, notwithstanding the regularity of their ordination, these Cumberland Presbyterian ministers,

as did the old Reformers, "planted themselves on the promise of Christ, the ever-present Head of the church," and recognized as their best authority the special internal divine call and preparation. And they proved their ministry by the abundance of their labors.

The first meeting of the new Presbytery had no churches represented. The second, which was held in October, 1810, had only one; at this meeting the fourth minister from the Presbyterian Church, the Rev. William McGee, joined the Presbytery. It now numbered five, the Rev. Ephraim McLean, a licentiate of the old Cumberland Presbytery, having been ordained at the first meeting. Nor were any churches represented at the third meeting; the fourth had six; the fifth, eight, several of which had been organized by the new Cumberland Presbytery. After a little while some more of the churches which had been with the revival ministers of the old Cumberland cast in their lots with the new, but never enough of them to amount to a schism. "The membership of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church to-day is, ninety percent. of it, made up of converts won from Satan's dominion, and not of proselytes won from other churches."

In the beginning it was an exceedingly small church; a

> ——tiny pine-shrub shot up from the moss,
> The wren's foot would cover it tripping across,

but

> The seasons fly past and its head is on high,
> And its thick branches challenge each mood of the sky.

It was warmed by God's sunshine and fanned by his breath, for how else could the little one have become a thousand?

All the ministers of the new Presbytery had a thorough Presbyterian training, and Cumberland Presbyterians still

regard it as worthy of record that in profound respect for the Sabbath they were scarcely behind the Puritans themselves. The customs of their families in this respect were regulated strictly by the Jewish law. No wood was gathered or carried, much less cut, on the Sabbath. No visiting, no pleasure-riding, no cooking, no strolling through the woods, no whistling, no traveling, except to church, no conversation or reading, except on religious subjects, was tolerated. If a child committed an offense worthy of the rod, the penalty was delayed till Monday morning.[1]

[1] McDonnold's "History."

CHAPTER IV.

A CIRCULAR LETTER.

THE new Cumberland Presbytery, at its fall session in 1810, gives an account of those times, and particularly of the circumstances which led to its formation. As it admits us into the very pith and marrow of those formative days, and will always be a document of permanent value, it is thought desirable to insert it here in full—especially as it is presumed to be one of the objects of the society under whose auspices this sketch is published to preserve valuable, original, historical documents.

Addressed to the Societies and Brethren of the Presbyterian Church recently under the care of the Council by the late Cumberland Presbytery, in which there is a correct statement of the origin, progress, and termination of the difference between the Synod of Kentucky and the former Presbytery of Cumberland. Russellville, Ky. Printed by Matthew Duncan, at the office of the "Farmer's Friend," 1810.

DEAR BRETHREN: The time is at last come when we must either sacrifice our religious liberties and conscience to what we judge unreasonable demands, cease our endeavors to promote the work of God among you as we have hitherto done, or constitute a Presbytery separate from the Synod of Kentucky. We choose the latter as the only alternative in which we can have the answer of a good conscience. We therefore deem it expedient to give you a retrospective view of the cause, together with the progressive means by which matters have been brought to this issue.

A number of you will easily recollect that about the close of the last century, or beginning of the present, God in a very remarkable manner began to revive his work amongst the inhabitants of this western country, the first symptoms of which appeared under the ministerial labors of the Rev. James McGready in Logan County. At the first commencement of this glorious revival, as also in its progress, the bodily affections and exercises of a number of those who were its subjects were very uncommon. This soon caused

a rumor to go abroad, and the people from every quarter *came out to see.* The consequence of which was, they not only had their curiosity satisfied, but a great number had their hearts deeply affected. This, in the hand of God, was a blessed means of spreading the work through various parts of our country. For a while, at first, all the ministers in our bounds seemed to participate in the glorious effusion of the Holy Spirit, and, correspondent to this, proclaimed themselves friends to the revival. But alas! it was soon after discoverable that some of them had changed their opinion, otherwise they had never been well established. The consequence of this apparent change may easily be inferred; notwithstanding, the work still progressed. And although the few who remained friends to the revival labored in the work of the ministry *night and day*, yet the cries of the people for more preaching were incessant; and those cries soon became so general that they were heard from many parts of an extensive frontier. The ministers in return could only pity and pray for them; the congregations being so numerous, and in such a scattered situation, that they could not by any possible endeavor supply them.

About this time a venerable father in the ministry,[1] who was then resident in one of the upper counties of Kentucky, came down and attended a communion with some of our preachers in a vacant congregation; and he having learned the situation of our country, and the pressing demand that there was for more preaching, proposed the plan of encouraging such amongst us as appeared to be men of good talents, and who also discovered a disposition to exercise their gifts in a public way, to preach the gospel, although they might not have acquired that degree of human education which the letter of discipline requires. This proposition was truly pleasing to our preachers, and, indeed, it found general acceptance amongst the people as soon as intimations thereof were given. The consequence was, an uncommon spirit of prayer now seemed to prevail throughout the societies, that the great Head of the church would not only open an effectual door into the ministry, but also that he would raise up, qualify, and bring men into that sacred office, whose labors he would own and bless. And, brethren, that God who never told *Israel to seek him in vain* evidently heard and answered the prayers of his people. Some, whose minds had been previously impressed with the duty of calling sinners to repentance, and of bearing public testimony to the work of God and the religion of Jesus Christ, and upon whom also the eyes of the church for some time had been fixed with a degree of expectation, now made their exercise of mind on this subject known to their fathers in the ministry. The prospect was truly pleasing to the preachers, yet they considered it expedient to act with the greatest caution; for although the step about to be taken was not unprecedented in the Presbyterian Church, yet, seeing it was out of the common track, they were well aware that some of their brethren in the ministry would oppose the measure. However, they

[1] Rev. David Rice.

ventured to encourage three or four of the young men to prepare written discourses, and present them to the Transylvania Presbytery as a specimen of their abilities. They accordingly prepared discourses, and at the next stated session of said Presbytery their case was brought before that reverend body. They met with warm opposition, arising principally, however, from a quarter rather inimical to the revival. But after a lengthy conversation on the subject, in which there was much altercation, a majority of the members consented and agreed that the young men might be permitted to read their discourses to an aged member alone, who should make report to the judicature. We believe the report was favorable. It was then directed, as well as we can recollect, that those men should prepare other discourses to be read at the next Presbytery. They accordingly prepared, and three of them attended; but as soon as the subject of their case was resumed, a warm debate ensued. At length, however, a majority of the members agreed to hear their discourses. After they were read the question was put: "Shall these men be received as candidates for the ministry?" The vote being taken, one of the three was received, and two rejected by a majority of one vote only. This circumstance much depressed the spirits of a number of the preachers who were real friends to the revival, and likewise the congregations generally, who had so earnestly desired their licensure; but more especially the spirits of those two candidates were depressed. They were men in a matrimonial state, and could not, consistently with those relative duties by which they were bound to their families, go and acquire the knowledge of all those forms of literature required by the Book of Discipline. Fain would they have returned home and solaced themselves in the enjoyment of their domestic comforts as private Christians, if they could have done so and kept a good conscience; but this they could not do; nor could they with clearness become members of any other Christian society where the ministerial door was not so strait and difficult, and consequently where they might have been at liberty to exercise their popular talents with approbation. No; they were attached to all the essential doctrines and likewise the Discipline of the Presbyterian Church. It was in this church they were early dedicated to God by their parents, and in this church they first felt the power of the gospel upon their hearts, and tasted the sweetness of that grace which brings salvation to man. Therefore, in the communion of this church they earnestly desired to live and die.

By this time a number of others, who were generally esteemed eminent for gifts and piety, together with those who had already offered as candidates, became all solemnly impressed to proclaim the word of life and salvation to sinners. But alas! the door of admittance seemed to be shut against them.

In this dark state of matters, both the ministers themselves, and likewise the candidates who had already offered, and others who were looking forward toward the ministry, together with all the societies in our bounds, began now, in good earnest, to realize the necessity of crying mightily to that God who has church judicatures in his hands as well as the hearts of individuals. In the

meantime, candidates and other eminent characters who were assiduously endeavoring in one way or another to promote the work of God were encouraged by their fathers in the ministry to continue the exercise of their gifts in a way of public exhortation, which several of them did, laboring much till the next Presbytery; at which time several petitions were presented with hundreds of signatures, praying the Presbytery to license and send to their relief certain denominated persons. The subject was again taken into consideration, after which the Presbytery, who were personally acquainted with those men embraced in the petitions, knowing their piety, soundness in the faith, *aptness to teach*, etc., and taking into view the situation of the congregations and the extraordinary demand for preaching, determined to hear trial sermons from three or four of them (at the present session), to be considered as popular discourses: which accordingly were delivered and sustained by a large majority of the judicature. And after an examination on various subjects touching the ministry, which was also sustained, they were "licensed to preach the gospel within the bounds of the Transylvania Presbytery, or wherever else God in his providence might call them."

Certain members who had always been opposed to the measure entered their protest against the proceedings of the majority. But the majority were not deterred thereby from pursuing in their official capacity that method which they conscientiously believed best calculated to promote the Redeemer's kingdom in the world.

The Synod not long after this divided the Transylvania Presbytery, and formed what was called the Cumberland Presbytery; the bounds of which included all the members that attended the preceding session of the Transylvania Presbytery. Which act gave a decided majority in the new Presbytery to the promoters of the revival and those who were friendly to the licensure of the aforementioned young men: which majority ever after continued, and increased until the Presbytery were dissolved.

The licensing of these men on the petition of the congregations seemed to be a means in God's hand of increasing, instead of decreasing, the demand for supplies. They, the preachers, *laboring both night and day*, leaving their families for considerable lengths of time, preaching the Word, planting new societies, and watering those that were planted, would necessarily increase such demand, if attended with the divine influence. And, brethren, we need only appeal to many of you to witness the success that evidently attended those men's labors. The feeling and experience of your own hearts are better evidences to you on that subject than all the reasons that could be advanced. *Though you may have ten thousand instructors, yet you have not many fathers in Christ.*

The Presbytery, in pursuing what they believed to be their duty, continued from time to time to license and ordain such men, both learned and unlearned (what is meant by unlearned here, is not a want of common English education), as they thought would be useful laborers in the vineyard of the Lord. And if the old maxim be a good one, "Judge of causes by their effects," the

Presbytery will never have just cause to regret that they engaged in and pursued such measures; for it is an incontestable fact (judging by our Lord's rule, "*By their fruit ye shall know them*") that there are multitudes of *both men and women* who will have cause to rejoice eternally that ever they heard those men preach a crucified Christ.

The members who entered their protest sent a petition to the next session of Synod, referring them to the protest, "which they thought should have operated as an appeal," in which they complained of various irregularities in the Cumberland Presbytery with respect to the licensure and ordination of men to the ministry. The Synod at that time did or said but little about the matter; but at their succeeding session they appointed a commission of Synod to meet shortly afterward in the bounds of the Cumberland Presbytery at Gasper River, and directed certain members of the commission to cite, previously to that meeting, all our preachers, licentiates, candidates, and public exhorters,[1] who generally met in obedience to the citation.

We would observe here, brethren, that although the appointment of the commission was (we hope) well intended, yet we believe it was unhappily selected, as to a part of it, from what appeared in the prosecution of their mission. A number of that body, however, both preachers and elders, were meek and friendly disposed men, who felt themselves, as brethren, disposed to pursue the most pacific measures (according to their order from the stated Synod) to heal the breach that threatened the church. But, on the contrary, it is notorious that another part of that body were men of different tempers; and it was an unfortunate circumstance that those men were the most forward influential members.

After the commission had met, and also the accused (who were then known as the majority of the Cumberland Presbytery), the commission selected from the minutes and other sources a number of irregularities, as chargeable against the majority of the Presbytery. All of which, however, were comprised in the two following particulars, to wit: first, "the licensing unlearned men, or such as had not been examined on the learned languages, etc.; secondly, that those men who were licensed, both learned and unlearned, were only required to adopt the Confession of Faith partially—that is, as far as they believed it to agree with the Word of God."

As to the first ground of complaint, the Presbytery not only pleaded the exception made in the Discipline in extraordinary cases, but also the example of a number of the presbyteries in different parts of the United States.[2]

[1] There was much noise about so many exhorters having been authorized by the Presbytery. The members thought with the Apostle that it was the duty and privilege of all Christians to exhort in some manner; and the design they had in licensing such as made application was to give them more weight among the people, without the most distant prospect of licensing them to preach except those whose talents would have justified such an act.

[2] Among the many instances of this kind that might be mentioned are the following, to wit: Mr. Beck, who was received by the Presbytery in North

They moreover appealed to a higher authority than either of the foregoing, which was, the New Testament, and inquired if there was any precept or example in that which condemned the practice of licensing what they (the commission) called unlearned men to preach the gospel? It was likewise asked if God could not as easily call a Presbyterian to preach who had not a liberal education, as he could a Methodist or Baptist? a number of whom are acknowledged to be respectable and useful ministers of Jesus Christ.

As to the second point, the Synod had suggested that the candidates could have adopted the "Alcoran" in the same manner they adopted the Confession of Faith. This was acknowledged to be literally true, but not applicable in the case of the young men. For the Presbytery contended that the very act of the candidates receiving the Confession at all was an evidence that they esteemed it above all human creeds. And the exception, or condition in which they were indulged, was only designed to meet some conscientious scruples in points not fundamental nor essential—particularly the idea of fatality, that seemed to some of them to be there taught under the high and mysterious doctrine of predestination.

The reasons offered by the Presbytery on those points did not appear satisfactory to the commission of Synod: therefore, much altercation took place, during which time no doubt but Christ was wounded *in the house of his friends* by some (perhaps) of both judicatures. It is well recollected, at any rate, that the Presbytery, during the debate, were often reminded by certain members of the commission that they stood at their (the commissioners') bar! Indeed, brethren, it appeared to us very notorious that some of the leading members of that body assumed attitudes and an authority which but illy com-

Carolina; Mr. Bloodworth, by Orange; Mr. Moore, by Hanover; Mr. Marquis, by Redstone; and Mr. Kemper and Mr. Abell, by the Transylvania Presbyteries. Likewise, in Pennsylvania, many years ago, a poor illiterate man, a native of Wales, conceiving that he had an internal call to preach the gospel, made his case known to the Presbytery. But because he was not sufficiently acquainted with the English language to undergo an examination in it, or in any other but his mother-tongue, the Presbytery, therefore, instead of treating him without notice, sent to Virginia for President Davis, who was also a native of Wales, to perform the necessary examination previous to licensure, and who on his return to Virginia declared that he never had assisted in bringing a man into the ministry with greater freedom in his life.

In short, the majority of Cumberland Presbytery were of opinion that the compilers of the Confession of Faith and Discipline of our church never intended the rules there laid down for examination and trial of candidates for the ministry to be considered an infallible standard by which the Holy Ghost must be limited when he calls men to that sacred office. They had no doubt but that reverend body, at the same time that they laid down those prudential rules, believed that the great Head of the church could, and actually did, when he thought proper, bring men into the ministry without the aid of those literary qualifications. And if granted that he might in one instance, why not in more—yea, why not in many? Who will limit the Holy One of Israel?

ported with the character of ministers of the meek and lowly Jesus, sent on a pacific mission.

After much reasoning as well as positive assertion on the subject, the commission demanded of the Presbytery to give up to them all those men whom they had licensed and ordained for reëxamination. The Presbytery refused, suggesting the danger of the example, and also that such a demand was without precedent. They moreover declared that they believed the Discipline of the Presbyterian Church had deposited the sole power in the several presbyteries to judge of the faith and qualifications of their own candidates for the ministry.[1]

After the refusal of the Presbytery, the moderator of the commission proceeded to adjure the young men to submit to their authority and be reëxamined; when one of them asked liberty for himself and brethren to retire and ask counsel of God before they would give an answer. This reasonable request was at first strongly opposed by one or two leading members of the commission, but at length it was granted, and the young men retired to ask counsel of Him who is all-wise. In a short time after, they returned, when they were asked individually if they would submit as above. They all (except one or two who wanted longer time to deliberate) answered in the negative, for the following reasons, to wit: first, they believed the Cumberland Presbytery, which was a regular church judicature, to be competent judges of the faith and abilities of their own candidates; secondly, that they themselves had not been charged with heresy or immorality; and if they had, the Presbytery would have been the proper judicature first to have called them to an account. Notwithstanding, the commission of Synod proceeded formally to prohibit all the men, learned and unlearned, whom the Cumberland Presbytery had licensed and ordained from preaching the gospel in the name of Presbyterians! And also cited what were called the Old Members to attend the next stated session of Synod to be examined on faith, and to answer for not having given up their young brethren to be reëxamined.

Here, brethren, we would ask (knowing that a number of you have been thirty or forty years regular members of the Presbyterian Church) if ever you knew an instance, either in Europe or America, of a Synod undertaking to prohibit preachers who had not been accused by their own or any other Presbytery? We would also ask, if ever you knew an instance of any Reformed Church judicature silencing a minister or ministers who had not been charged with heresy, immorality, nor even what our Discipline calls contumacy? This was certainly the case with the young men. That is, they were not charged with either of the above, yet they were prohibited, and the Presbytery censured, because they would not acknowledge the authority by which it was done.

[1] On the principles of the commission's demand, no Presbytery would know when there was an addition made to their body by a new ordination, inasmuch as the next Synod might demand a reëxamination of the newly ordained minister, judge him unqualified, and declare he should no longer preach as a Presbyterian.

The members of Presbytery then retired to consult what was best to be done (but not in a presbyterial capacity), and after deliberation they agreed to encourage the young men to continue the exercise of their respective functions, which they themselves determined to do: except in such business as required the act of a Presbytery.

Some months after, there was a general meeting or council held at Shiloh, consisting of the ministers, elders, and representatives from vacancies which formerly composed a majority of Cumberland Presbytery. At that council it was agreed on to petition the General Assembly, and in the meantime cease our operations as a Presbytery, but continue to meet from time to time in the capacity of a council, and promote the interest of the church as well as we could, until an answer could be obtained from the Assembly. The council, at this meeting, unanimously declared it to be their opinion that the commission of Synod had acted contrary to Discipline, which opinion was corroborated by the next Assembly (though not officially), according to a private letter from a respectable member of that body, a part of which is as follows:

"The unhappy differences in your quarter, so immediately succeeding what a great proportion of the Presbyterian interest, in this place, believed to be a great revival of the work of God, has excited deep concern, and our General Assembly have had the matter fully before them. It appeared to be the decided opinion of the majority in the General Assembly that no Synod has a right to proceed against ministers or individuals except the matter shall have come before them by appeal from the Presbytery; that only a Presbytery could call its members to account for errors in doctrine or practice; that a man once ordained by a Presbytery is an ordained minister, though the Presbytery may have acted improperly in not requiring the due qualifications, and that even a Presbytery could not afterward depose, but for cause arising or made public after ordination; that licentiates are always in the power of their Presbytery to examine them and to withdraw their licensure at discretion; but that a Synod may act against a Presbytery, as such, by dissolving, dividing, censuring, etc.: consequently, that the dealings with Cumberland Presbytery were legal in dissolving them and annexing them to Transylvania, but wholly improper in suspending ordained ministers, and still more improper was it for a commission of Synod to do it. But though the rule about knowledge of languages in our Discipline is not often fully complied with, and though the rule is not found in the Scriptures, yet it is so important, that though your case was an imperious one, yet they seemed to fear you had gone too far, especially in the licensures. But what the General Assembly hath finally done will appear very inconclusive on these points, because they wished to avoid offending the Synod and the Presbytery; and the minority in the Assembly took advantage of this to make the business end as much as possible in such a manner as not to be construed against the power of Synods and General Assemblies. The General Assembly have, however, questioned the regularity of the proceedings of your Synod."

You may see, brethren, in the foregoing extract, what was the decided

opinion of what may be called the collected wisdom of the Presbyterian Church of the United States on the points for which we contended; and perhaps, in examining the list of commissioners who composed the Assembly, the members will be found to stand as high for learning, integrity, and piety as a subsequent Assembly, who differed with them in opinion. You will, moreover, see the reason why we were not profited by the favorable opinion of the Assembly. As to the Assembly's fearing we had "gone too far in the licensures," we will not pretend to say their fears were altogether without foundation. Nevertheless, the Presbytery who have been without sin on this subject "may cast the first stone"—that is, the Presbytery who have licensed as many as the Cumberland Presbytery have done, and who have licensed no improper person to preach the gospel.[1]

The Assembly addressed a letter to the Synod informing them that what they had done "was at least of questionable regularity," and requested them to review their proceedings, and rectify what might have been done amiss. The Synod, we understood, reviewed, but confirmed all their commission had done. The council, notwithstanding, were encouraged to forward another petition. After which we were informed, by a private letter from another influential member of the Assembly, that it would be most proper for us to apply to the Synod to rescind their former order as it respected the Presbytery, and if they refused, then for the council to appeal to the Assembly, who, "no doubt, would redress their grievances." The official letter of that Assembly not having come to hand, the council thought it prudent to postpone doing anything in it until such letter could be seen. After it was seen a number of the members of council thought the prospect of a redress of grievances not flattering, and at the next council it was voted by a large majority to go into a constituted state, and in that capacity address the General Assembly. But by reason of the minority refusing to acquiesce in what the majority had done, the council did not still constitute a Presbytery. After some time, some of those who were of the majority felt willing to comply with the recommendation of the member who wrote to us and told us to go up by appeal from the Synod. But before there was an opportunity of doing so (after such conclusion), we heard, to our astonishment, that the Assembly had decided in favor of the Synod. This step at once superseded the necessity of an appeal; therefore the council generally thought it was now time to constitute into a Presbytery, and proceed to business again in that capacity. But some of the members wished to make the last effort with the Synod, who now had the business in their own hands, and the whole agreed, at the Ridge Meeting-house in August last, to propose their last terms and forward them to the Transylvania Presbytery or Synod by two commissioners to be appointed for that purpose, which was accordingly done, and the terms in substance were as follows:

[1] The Cumberland Presbytery have reason to thank God that every man whom they licensed (except one individual) continues to believe, preach, and practice the gospel of Christ.

"We, the preachers belonging to the council, both old and young, from a sincere desire to be in union with the general body of the Presbyterian Church, are willing to be examined on the tenets of our holy religion by the Transylvania Presbytery, Synod, or a committee appointed for that purpose; taking along the idea, however, that we be received or rejected as a connected body. Also all our ministers, ordained and licentiates, retain their former authority derived from the Cumberland Presbytery. It was moreover understood, that if the Synod should require the preachers to re-adopt the Confession of Faith, it should be with the exception of fatality only."

Our commissioners were directed to go, and take a copy of the above minute, without any discretionary power whatsoever to alter the propositions in any way. And it was unanimously agreed and determined, that if the Synod would not accede to the propositions, on the fourth Tuesday in October ensuing they (the whole council) would go into a constituted state. The commissioners accordingly went to the Synod, and after their return informed us that the Synod would not consider our case as a body, but as individuals; neither would they suffer any of our preachers to make the exception to the Confession of Faith.

The commissioners, notwithstanding, obtained an order for an intermediate Presbytery "to be held at Greentown, to consider the case of Mr. Hodge and others." Here, brethren, we will insert for your information the minute of the last council, and also the preamble to the minute of our first Presbytery:

"The council met at Shiloh, agreeably to adjournment on the fourth Tuesday in October, 1809. Whereupon Mr. King was appointed to the chair, and Thomas Donald, clerk. The council opened by prayer.

"Inquiry was made what progress the commissioners had made at the Transylvania Presbytery (or Synod) toward bringing about a reconciliation, and how those judicatures had treated the propositions of the last council. Mr. Hodge, after some preliminary remarks (in which he suggested that he thought the commissioners had obtained a compliance with the substance of the council's propositions), read a copy of a petition he had presented to the Synod, and the Synod's order on that petition. After the matter was discussed, and after the minute of the last council on that subject was read and compared with the petition and order above, the vote was taken whether or not the Synod had complied with the propositions of the council—which was decided in the negative by a very large majority. The vote was then taken whether or not the council would put the resolution of last council into execution (which went solemnly to declare that unless the Synod acceded to their propositions they would on this day constitute into a Presbytery), which was carried in the affirmative by a large majority. After which Messrs. William and Samuel Hodge, ministers, and Thomas Donald, elder, withdrew from the council, virtually declaring their intention to join the Transylvania Presbytery. There being then only three ordained ministers present, it was inquired whether they were now ready to go into a constituted state—when it was found that one of them was embarrassed in his mind. The council then

adjourned and met again, waiting the decision of that member, who at length declared he could not feel free at the present time to constitute. The council then, together with all the licentiates and candidates present, formed into a committee and entered upon a free conversation on the subject before them.

"When it was finally agreed to that each ordained minister, licentiate, elder, and representative shall continue in union, and use their influence to keep the societies in union, until the third Tuesday in March next, and then meet at the Ridge Meeting-house.

"After which each one shall be at liberty from this bond, unless, previously to that time, three ordained ministers belonging to this body should have constituted a Presbytery. Then in that case the committee will all consider the bond of union perpetual. Which Presbytery, after doing such business as they may think proper, are to adjourn to meet at the Ridge Meeting-house the said third Tuesday in March in a presbyterial capacity.

"SAMUEL KING, *Chairman.*

"In Dixon County, Tennessee State, at the Rev. Samuel McAdow's this fourth day of February, 1810.

"We, Samuel McAdow, Finis Ewing, and Samuel King, regularly ordained ministers in the Presbyterian Church, against whom no charge, either of immorality or heresy, has ever been exhibited before any of the church judicatures, having waited in vain more than four years, in the meantime petitioning the General Assembly for a redress of grievances and a restoration of our violated rights, have and do hereby agree and determine to constitute into a Presbytery, known by the name of the Cumberland Presbytery, on the following conditions, to wit: all candidates for the ministry who may hereafter be licensed by this Presbytery, and all the licentiates or probationers who may hereafter be ordained by this Presbytery, shall be required, before such licensure and ordination, to receive and adopt the Confession and Discipline of the Presbyterian Church, except the idea of fatality, that seems to be taught under the mysterious doctrine of predestination. It is to be understood, however, that such as can clearly receive the Confession without an exception shall not be required to make any. Moreover, all licentiates, before they are set apart to the whole work of the ministry (or ordained), shall be required to undergo an examination on English grammar, geography, astronomy, natural and moral philosophy, and church history.[1] The Presbytery may also require an examination on all or any part of the above branches of literature, before licensure, if they deem it expedient."

Thus, brethren, we have, in the integrity of our hearts, endeavored to give you as correct and impartial an account of the rise and progress of the cause or causes that have brought us into our present situation, as justice to our-

[1] It will not be understood that examinations on experimental religion and theology will be omitted.

selves and our best recollection would admit. We have not intentionally and unjustly exposed or covered the conduct of any man or judicature. We have only aimed at giving a clear, honest view of the matter, that you might be enabled to judge for yourselves whether we have acted with propriety or impropriety. If we be in error, we are not conscious of it.

We think, brethren, precipitancy or rashness cannot be justly imputed to us in the present case. We have waited in an unorganized state for more than four years, and in that time have repeatedly prayed the judicatures to redress our grievances, and have not contended for one privilege but what we conscientiously believe God's Word allows us. If we had sought or desired an occasion to make a schism in the church, we had an excellent pretext, after the unprecedented conduct of the commission of Synod toward us. But instead of this, we voluntarily suspended our operations as a Presbytery, and waited from year to year (being beset on every side), hoping the matter might be settled on principles just and equitable. We said "beset on every side"; yes, brethren, a number of you know that various sectaries took the advantage of our forbearance and peculiar situation, and endeavored to rend our flourishing congregations. The swarms of heretics, and fanatics also, who came down from the upper counties of Kentucky gave us much perplexity. Yet we determined, through grace, to stand firm and continue to appeal to the reason and justice of the higher judicatures until we were assured they were not disposed to restore our rights. This assurance we have at length obtained, and there was no alternative left us but either to violate our solemn vows to our brethren—act contrary to our reason and conscience—or form ourselves into a Presbytery separate from the Kentucky Synod. This step at first view may alarm some of you, but be assured, brethren, that although we are not now united to the Presbyterian Church by the external bond of Discipline, we feel as much union in heart as formerly. And we would further assure you that we have not set up as a party inimical to the general Presbyterian Church. No: we ourselves are Presbyterians, and expect ever to remain so, whether united to the general body or not.

Permit us further to inform you what we do know to be an incontestable fact—that is, there are a number of ministers who are kept in the bosom of the Presbyterian Church who have deviated infinitely more from the Confession than we have done. One can boldly deny the imputation of Christ's active obedience to the sinner in justification and publish it to the world; another can deny the operation of the Holy Spirit in the work of regeneration;[1] and yet we, who only object to the unqualified idea of eternal reprobation, cannot be indulged in that objection!

It has been said that if all the ministers belonging to the council had continued together and had constituted into a Presbytery, it would have been much better. Brethren, if individuals, for reasons best known to themselves

[1] See Mr. Davis's publication of South Carolina and Mr. Craighead's of Tennessee.

and their God, have thought proper to change a position in which we thought God had blessed them, we have not yet felt at liberty to do so likewise. We have to account to God and our own conscience how we have acted in this matter.

Some have feared because of the smallness of our number. Brethren, we have yet left in the bounds of our Presbytery almost as many ministers, exclusive of candidates, as our blessed Lord chose to spread the gospel through the world. And whilst we acknowledge the greatest inferiority to those twelve champions of the gospel, yet we profess to believe that neither the standing nor reputation of a people depends on their numbers. If this were admitted, the Roman Church when it was at its zenith of superstition and idolatry would have been the most permanent and respectable in the world. But the Reformation and subsequent events have taught us that was not the case with her. But notwithstanding, some individuals have changed their ground; yet, as far as we have learned, but very few of the numerous and respectable societies or congregations have abandoned us; and many individuals of those few were partly constrained to do as they have done from their local situation.

Some of you are afraid you cannot be supplied by the Presbytery. Brethren, the same almighty *Lord of the harvest* who heard your prayers on that subject ten years ago is willing to hear again. Is *the harvest* indeed *great and the laborers few?* Well, then, pray the Lord to send more laborers.

Some fear lest the Presbytery should take too much liberty in licensing and ordaining unlearned men. If by this you mean you are afraid the Presbytery (in some instances) will dispense with the dead languages, your fears are well grounded. But if you are afraid we will license and ordain without a good English education, we hope your fears are without foundation.[1] And while we thus candidly declare our intention to receive men as candidates, without a knowledge of languages, who are men of good talents, and who appear to be evidently called of God (believing, as we do, that there are thousands in the Presbyterian Church of such description, who would make more able, respectable, and more useful ministers of Jesus Christ than many who say they have been brought up at the feet of Gamaliel), we would nevertheless recommend it to all parents who have sons who promise fair for the ministry, to have them taught the Greek language, especially the Greek Testament. Some of us, brethren, intend to do ourselves what we here recommend, and thereby more fully convince you of our sincerity.

We would just add, that we have it in view as a Presbytery to continue, or make another proposition to the Synod of Kentucky or some other Synod for a reunion. If we can obtain it without violating our natural and Scriptural rights, it will meet the most ardent wish of our hearts. If we cannot, we hope to be enabled to commit ourselves and cause to Him who is able to keep us. Brethren, if we live at the feet of the Redeemer and feel constant

[1] See the preamble to the minute of our first Presbytery.

dependence on him, we are not afraid but that he will be our God and Director. And if *God be for us, who can be against us?* We therefore entreat you, brethren, *to watch and be sober.*

Cultivate friendship with all societies of Christians who maintain the fundamental doctrines of the gospel, and whose lives comport with their profession. But avoid the multitude of deceivers who have gone out into the world and strike at the very root of all real religion. Avoid them, we entreat you, as you would the open enemies of the cross of Christ.

Gird on the whole armor of God. Fight the good fight of faith, live in peace, and the God of peace shall be with you. Amen.

SAMUEL MCADOW, *Moderator.*

Test, YOUNG EWING, *Clerk.*

CHAPTER V.

THE FIRST SYNOD.

THE records of the first Presbytery, as compiled by the Rev. Dr. J. B. Lindsley in his "Sources and Sketches of Cumberland Presbyterian History," clearly indicate that a separate ecclesiastical denomination was not at first aimed at. Cumberland Presbytery was meant to be only an independent Presbytery of the Presbyterian Church, hopes being reserved that some day and in some unforeseen manner the breach would be healed. But the day has delayed its coming, and the unforeseen manner has never become apparent. Cumberland Presbytery, while hoping, delayed not its growth, and the ministers and churches under its jurisdiction multiplied. November 3, 1812, it met at a church called Lebanon, in Christian County, Ky. It was resolved to form a Synod, and the preamble to the resolution reads as follows:

> WHEREAS, we, the Cumberland Presbytery, have made every reasonable effort to be reunited to the general Presbyterian Church; and WHEREAS, from the extent of our bounds, the local situation of our members, their number, etc., it is inconvenient to do business in but one Presbytery; and WHEREAS the constitution of a Synod would be desirable, and we trust of good consequences in various respects, and particularly as a tribunal having appellate jurisdiction: therefore, etc.

Previous to this, in October, 1811, Cumberland Presbytery appointed a committee to meet a delegation from Muhlenburg and West Tennessee Presbyteries of the Presbyterian Church "to confer on the subject of a reunion, and other matters relative to that harmony that should

exist between the members and people of Jesus Christ." But instead of a union being effected between the two bodies, a pastoral letter was addressed to the churches warning them of the heresies of those who had assumed the Cumberland Presbytery, asserting that its members had no authority to administer ordinances, etc. The members of Cumberland Presbytery and the members of its churches were excluded from participation in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper when administered by Presbyterian ministers.[1] This harsh measure called forth the following on the part of Cumberland Presbytery:

WHEREAS, our brethren of Muhlenburg and West Tennessee Presbyteries, instead of manifesting a spirit of reconciliation, have officially shut the door against the two bodies coming together;

Resolved, 1st, That this Presbytery has, in substance, complied with our declaration in the circular letter relating to a reunion. 2d. It is our opinion that the Muhlenburg and West Tennessee Presbyteries by their late acts have for the present cut off all prospect of a reunion between the two churches. 3d. That we have always been, and expect to continue to be, willing and ready to have union on proper principles with the general Presbyterian Church.

But hope was deferred. That it might work the more efficiently while it waited, the Cumberland Presbytery divided itself into three, and in October, 1813, at the Beech Church in Sumner County, Tenn., the first Synod was organized. The name "Cumberland" Presbytery was changed to "Nashville," the other two Presbyteries being the Elk and the Logan. The name "Cumberland" was given to the Synod. The bounds of this Synod included a large part of Middle Tennessee, extending indefinitely northward through Kentucky. The first Presbytery was organized with three ordained ministers; the first Synod, three years thereafter, with sixteen.

The most important work of the Synod at its first

[1] Smith's "History."

meeting was the appointment of a committee to prepare a Confession of Faith, Catechism, and Discipline, in conformity to the avowed principles of the body. It consisted of Rev. Messrs. William McGee, Finis Ewing, Robert Donnell, and Thomas Calhoun. The committee simply modified the Westminster Confession and Catechism, expunging what the members and those whom they represented believed to be unscriptural, and supplying, under the topics treated, that which they thought in accordance with the Word of God. The whole was presented to the Synod of 1816, which approved it and adopted it as the Confession of Faith and Discipline of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church.

The Cumberland Synod performed all the functions of a General Synod from the date of its organization in 1813 to its final adjournment in 1828. At this time there were eighteen presbyteries, as follows: Nashville, Elk, and Logan, 1813; McGee, in Missouri and Illinois, 1819; Anderson, in Kentucky, 1821; Lebanon, in Tennessee, 1821; Tennessee, including the southern portion of the State, 1821; Illinois, 1822; Tombigbee, in Alabama and Mississippi, 1823; Arkansas, 1823; Hopewell, in Western Tennessee, 1824; Alabama, 1824; Indiana, 1825; Barnett, in Missouri, 1827; Knoxville, in Tennessee, 1827; St. Louis, in Missouri, 1828; Princeton, in Kentucky, 1828; Sangamon, in Illinois, 1828.

The historians who have space to enter into details tell us that the world has never known a period of greater activity and spirituality than characterized the Cumberland Presbyterian Church from 1813 to 1829. Many of the accounts of the labors and triumphs of the ministry in those days read like "miracles of missions." The only mode of travel, save in so far as they might go by boat or canoe, was horseback or afoot, and it was no uncommon

thing for the missionaries to travel hundreds of miles in order that they might be present at the meeting of their presbyteries—and it was done in perils of wild beasts, and wild waters, and often of wild men. They were not learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, but they knew very well the essentials of the gospel; they were mighty in the Scriptures, being full of the Holy Ghost and of a consuming zeal for the salvation of sinners. There are no statistics to show the number either of ministers or members in the church at that time. We know the number of presbyteries and who were their first members, but what names were added to their rolls during these sixteen years of the first Synod cannot now be ascertained. But it is known that thousands were converted every year, a large number of whom, for reasons of personal convenience, joined other churches.

CHAPTER VI.

A LARGER GROWTH.

On Monday, October 27, 1828, at Franklin, Tenn., the first Synod, which, from the date of its organization, had also been a General Synod, adjourned *sine die*. It had resolved to divide itself into four synods preparatory to the organization of a General Assembly. The new synods were named: Missouri, including six presbyteries; Franklin, including four presbyteries; Green River, including four presbyteries: and Columbia, also including four presbyteries. The General Assembly was to hold its first meeting in Princeton, Ky., the third Tuesday in May, 1829. Such changes in the Form of Government as the organization of a General Assembly necessitated were made by the General Synod, and, without any reference to the presbyteries, were accepted by common consent, and became part of the laws of the church.[1]

Pursuant to the adjournment of the General Synod the first General Assembly convened at Princeton, Ky., in May, 1829. Sixteen of the eighteen presbyteries were represented—a large proportion, considering the difficulties of travel and the already widely extended area of the church. The Rev. Thomas Calhoun was the moderator, and Rev. Richard Beard, subsequently and for many years professor of systematic theology in Cumberland University, was the clerk. At this Assembly Rev. John W. Ogden

[1] McDonnold's "History."

and Rev. M. H. Bone were appointed missionaries to travel through the eastern section of the valley of the Mississippi, to preach the gospel, and solicit donations for a college which, three years before, had been opened at Princeton, Ky. These missionaries seem to have emphasized their function as evangelists rather than as soliciting agents. They spent the summer and autumn in the State of Ohio and in western Pennsylvania, preaching with such power and demonstration of the Spirit that through their instrumentality a great many sinners were converted. Their work paved the way for extensive usefulness on the part of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church in Ohio, western Pennsylvania, and the State of New York. Two years after this, in response to a petition from certain members of the Presbyterian Church in Pennsylvania, five missionaries were sent by the General Assembly to the western part of that State. A revival hardly less remarkable than that of 1800 sprang up under their ministry, and many churches were organized. A witness of their ministry, and member of the Presbyterian congregation that had applied to the General Assembly for Cumberland Presbyterian missionaries, thus wrote: "God has often revived his work among us here, but we have never before witnessed anything to compare with the blessed work which is now in progress among us through the instrumentality of these missionaries from the West." The following year (1832) Pennsylvania Presbytery was organized, and Pennsylvania Synod in 1838. This Synod is now composed of four presbyteries and many flourishing churches, and since 1849 has sustained a college of great usefulness at Waynesburg, Pa.

In 1828 Cumberland Presbyterianism was introduced into Texas by Rev. Sumner Bacon, a volunteer and self-supporting missionary. In 1837 Texas Presbytery was

formed. There are now in that State 27 presbyteries and 551 reported churches.

Save during the years of the Civil War, the Cumberland Presbyterian Church has grown rapidly and without interruption, until it now has churches in half the States of the Union. It has a theological seminary in connection with Cumberland University at Lebanon, Tenn., colleges in Pennsylvania, Illinois, Missouri, and Texas, besides high-schools innumerable under its influence. It has always been the friend and earnest advocate of education, but, yielding to the pressing urgency of its fields white unto harvest, has never made the acquisition of the ancient languages a condition of ordination on the part of its ministry—and thus, particularly in the earlier days, the bread of life was broken unto thousands who might otherwise have starved. The Cumberland Presbyterian Church has either not had, or has lost, opportunities to develop and advertise its theology, as other churches have been wont to do, but within the scope of its own ministry it has not failed to emphasize it. In its attitude toward other denominations it has never been a belligerent church—not so was it even in the more polemical days of half or three quarters of a century ago. It has gone about doing good, with malice toward none and with charity toward all, its favorite theme ever being the simple and old, old story of God's world-wide and redeeming love. But it did not recognize God as arbitrary or lawless; and it was antinomian neither in practice nor tendency. It palliated no sin, and offered no "larger hope," for this world or the next, than repentance toward God and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ during this present life. It was one of the few churches, perhaps the only one, occupying large areas in the North and South, whose organic union could withstand the sundering influence of questions culminating in

or growing out of the Civil War. It is a practical illustration of how beautiful it is for brethren to dwell together in unity, even if it be necessary to that end to hold in abeyance some matters of individual opinion and some matters which belong rather to civil legislatures. But no church has ever excelled the Cumberland Presbyterian in its advocacy of the highest and purest type of Christian living. It has mission stations in Japan and Mexico, and from an early day has done much toward the evangelization of the American Indian. Its evangelistic energy has always exceeded its pastoral resources, and hence many thousands of those converted under the influence of its ministry have had to resort to other churches for Christian nurture and admonition. Hence the Cumberland Presbyterian Church at the present time (1893) numbers only some two hundred thousand communicants, whereas the number to which its evangelical energy really entitles it should be at least twice so many.

"Two principal causes," says the late Dr. Richard Beard, "contributed to the success of the early ministry of this church, 'camp-meetings' and what we called in early days 'circuit preaching.' Our fathers brought both these institutions with them from the mother church. They were not, it is true, indigenous to the Presbyterian Church, but they had grown up as necessities out of the revival. These modes of operation have now, except in our frontier settlements, become obsolete with us. They are adapted to newly and thinly inhabited settlements, but otherwise they do not harmonize with our mode of administration. . . . Another cause of the great success of our early men is found in the character of the labors of the men themselves. The great commission is to *preach*. These men *preached*, allowing the term its most significant sense. Their homely but strong elocu-

tion made its mark everywhere. Again, something was perhaps attributable to the condition of the country itself. It was new, and greatly excited on the subject of religion, and the earnest manner in which the truth was presented was well adapted to its habits of thought and feeling. I add further, the ministry shared in an unusual degree the spiritual coöperation of the people. The first generation of Cumberland Presbyterians were the most intensely spiritual people that I have ever known. It is charged, I know, that old men look back and magnify the past, while young men look forward; but I cannot be mistaken on this subject. These people lived nearer heaven than ordinary Christians do now. A man would have been an iceberg who could not have participated in some degree in the inspiration of their feelings and their prayers. If they did not give much money, they gave their hearts to the Word and to the work. The people strengthened the preacher, and the preacher strengthened the people."

CHAPTER VII.

MISSIONS.

EVEN so early as 1819 the church took its first step in the direction of formal missionary work. In different parts of the Synod a common spirit seems to have moved the hearts of many members of the new church in behalf of the Indians. A number of communications came to the meeting of the Synod of that year on the subject of doing something for the improvement of these people. The result was the establishment of a Christian mission school within what is now the State of Mississippi. It was placed under the supervision of Rev. Robert Bell. The school was opened in 1820, and continued to about 1830. The removal of the Indians to the Indian Territory made its discontinuance necessary, or rather its continuance unnecessary and useless. Seed was sown, however, which is bearing fruit now. Robert Bell deserves a monument at the side of those of David Brainerd, John Elliot, and others who have sought the salvation of the souls of the poor Indians, rather than the violent possession of their hunting-grounds.

Just seventy-three years ago, the honored fathers of this church inaugurated a foreign mission which developed the same spirit of self-denial and heroism which the missionary work is now developing.

For many years the Cumberland Presbyterian Church coöperated with the American Board. The first foreign missionary sent out by the church, independently, was a

consecrated young negro, who had been manumitted by his master and was sent to Siberia in 1852. In 1860 Rev. J. C. Armstrong was sent as a missionary to Turkey. Both missions failed, owing to the outbreak of the Civil War, which greatly crippled the church. In 1872 Rev. M. L. Gordon was sent as a missionary to Japan, and our force there has since increased to four men and twelve women, the latter being sent out by the Women's Board. Rev. Dr. Gordon is now working under the American Board. In 1886 the mission work in Mexico was begun, and there are now five missionaries on the field. There is an increasing missionary spirit in the church among the young people, and it hopes soon to enter upon a larger and wider field of usefulness. The missionary work of the church is under the control of the Board of Missions, organized in 1845, which also does the work of a Board of Church Erection. It is now located at St. Louis. The Women's Board of Foreign Missions was organized in 1880, and is located at Evansville, Ind. It may be worthy of mention that the first Cumberland Presbyterian Board of Missions ever organized (1818) was a "Women's Board." It seems to have been local in character.

CHAPTER VIII.

EDUCATION.

In 1825 the Synod entered upon the work of education. A college was established at Princeton, Ky., known as Cumberland College. Franceway R. Cossitt, who came to the Cumberland Presbyterian Church from the Episcopalians and had been educated in one of the best colleges of New England, was the first president. That old institution produced much fruit. In 1842 it was removed to Lebanon, Tenn., and chartered as "Cumberland University." It has, as a part of its corporation, a law school, which has long since acquired great reputation throughout the South and Southwest, and a theological seminary, founded in 1853. The Rev. Richard Beard, D.D., was for some time the only professor. Hundreds of young men preparing for the ministry received their theological education in part or entirely from him. This seminary now has four full professors, and two others who deliver shorter courses of lectures. The number of students has been steadily increasing since the reorganization in 1877, and there is reason to believe that the seminary has a bright future. Waynesburg College, at Waynesburg, Pa., was established in 1850, Madison College, its predecessor in that part of the church, having been discontinued. Other institutions are: Lincoln University, at Lincoln, Ill., founded in 1864; Trinity University, at Tehuacana, Tex., established in 1869; Missouri Valley College, at Marshall,

Mo.; Bethel College, at McKenzie, Tenn.; and various Presbyterial Academies, and other schools under the influence of the church. A Board of Education was organized at Nashville in 1855. In recent years it has done an increasingly useful work. It has not only aided a great many young men to obtain an education, but through its agent, the Rev. J. S. Grider, D.D., has added largely to the endowment fund of the theological seminary at Lebanon.

CHAPTER IX.

PUBLICATION.

THE first attempt to establish a church paper was made in 1830, the "Religious and Literary Intelligencer" being that year started at Princeton, Ky. In 1832 it was removed to Nashville, and became the "Revivalist." The next year it became the "Cumberland Presbyterian," under which title it is still published.

A great many other weeklies and other periodicals appeared from time to time in the interests of the church. In 1845, at Uniontown, Pa., the Rev. Milton Bird issued the first number of the "Theological Medium," the more recent name of which is the "Cumberland Presbyterian Review," and the publication of which has been kept up quite regularly from the date of its first number until recently. The doctrines, polity, and policy of the church have been ably discussed from time to time in its pages, as also many questions of general interest. The church also issues, through its Board of Publication, the usual Sabbath-school literature. This Board was organized in 1867 and located at Nashville. Prior to this time the publishing work had been done by "committees," in Pittsburg and Louisville.

CHAPTER X.

IN RELATION TO THE NEGRO.

A BRIEF word may be added in regard to the relation of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church to the negro. Before the Civil War there were some twenty thousand Cumberland Presbyterians. They belonged to the same congregations of which white people were members, and sat under the ministry of the same pastors, though they had preachers of their own race and often held separate meetings. "This order of things broke down during the war, and in 1869 the colored people asked and received the consent of the General Assembly to the organization of a separate African Cumberland Presbyterian Church."[1] This church has its own General Assembly, 20 presbyteries, and over 15,000 communicants.

[1] Dr. J. M. Howard, editor "Cumberland Presbyterian," Nashville.

CHAPTER XI.

PROGRESS.

In 1810 there were three Cumberland Presbyterian ministers. In 1860 there were 97 presbyteries, not less than 15 chartered colleges, and a total membership of 100,000. To-day, notwithstanding the loss of its colored ministers and members, it has 126 presbyteries, some 1700 ministers, 540 licentiates and candidates, and about 200,000 members. These numbers are not so large, perhaps, as they might have been, but "some comfort in our deficiencies and hope for our future growth," says Dr. McDonnold, "may be derived from comparisons." The Presbyterian Church in America in 1819 was about one hundred and twenty years old—some forty years older than the Cumberland Presbyterian is now. But at that date it had fifty-three presbyteries in all, no Board of Publication, and no Board of Missions. This slow progress was doubtless caused in part by the Revolutionary War, and adverse influences in colonial times. But there were mighty difficulties and hindrances in the early days of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church scarcely less embarrassing—and they have not been restricted to the early days. It is well that the lifetime of ecclesiastical generations also is brief, for the young begin the struggle afresh, inheriting the hopes of those who have gone before them, and not their despairs. There are many reasons to-day for believing that the Cumberland Presbyterian Church is now

entering upon a new era of activity and prosperity, and that it has before it an enlarging field and a growing mission of usefulness. The improved condition of its schools of general learning, and of its one theological seminary, is a sign of a better future, as is also the increasing number of regular pastors. "And," said a very old minister, not very long ago, "increasing attention is paid to experimental and spiritual religion." At any rate, we inherit his hope, and "press on."

CHAPTER XII.

DOCTRINES.

THE first published statement of the Cumberland Presbyterian doctrines was the brief compend unanimously approved and issued by the Cumberland Synod at the time of its organization, October, 1813. It was understood that, in the main, the Westminster Confession was accepted, the following points of dissent being stated: first, that there are no eternal reprobates; second, that Christ died not for a part only, but for all mankind; third, that all infants dying in infancy are saved through Christ and the sanctification of the Spirit; fourth, that the Spirit of God operates on the world, or, in other words, coextensively with the atonement of Christ, in such manner as to leave all men inexcusable.

As to the doctrines of predestination and election, Cumberland Presbyterians have always thought that they are too mysterious to have any rightful place in a Confession of Faith; nor are they pleased with the application which rigid Calvinists make of these doctrines, or which Arminians make of their rejection. They do not deem it necessary to approve the doctrine of final apostasy in order to avoid these other doctrines; nor do they deem it necessary to approve these other doctrines as interpreted by the more rigid Calvinists in order that they may hold to the doctrine of the final preservation of believers. To them there seems to be a better way. To them the temporal promise of God is just as valid as his eternal decree. But they accept also, of course, every word of Romans

viii. 29, 30, supposing, however, that the Apostle was writing both to believers and concerning believers in Christ. These were "predestinated to be conformed to the image of his Son." Cumberland Presbyterians are confident that these doctrines should not be so interpreted as to make anything the creature has done, or can do, at all meritorious in his salvation, or to take the least degree of the honor of our justification and perseverance from God's unmerited grace and Christ's pure righteousness. On the other hand, they are equally confident that these doctrines should not be so construed as to make God the author of sin, directly or indirectly, either Adam's sin or any subsequent sin of his fallen race; or to contradict the express and repeated declarations of God's Word on the extent of the atonement and operations of the Spirit; or to contradict the sincerity of God's expostulations with sinners, and make his oath to have no meaning, when he swears he has no pleasure in their death; or to resolve the whole character of the Deity into his sovereignty, without a due regard to all other of his adorable attributes.[1]

The first Synod, at its first meeting, unanimously approved and published the following doctrinal specifications:

1. That Adam was made upright, pure, and free; that he was necessarily under the moral law, which binds all intelligences; and having transgressed it, he was consequently, with all his posterity, exposed to eternal punishment and misery.

2. That Christ, the second Adam, represented just as many as the first, consequently made an atonement for all, "which will be testified in due time." But that the benefit of that atonement will be received only by the believer.

3. That all Adam's family are totally depraved; conceived in sin; going astray from the womb, and all "children of wrath," therefore must "be born again," justified and sanctified, or they never can enter into the kingdom of God.

4. That justification is by faith alone as the instrument; by the merits of Christ's active and passive obedience as the meritorious cause; and by the operations of God's Spirit as the efficacious or active cause.

[1] Smith's "History."

5. That as the sinner is justified on the account of Christ's righteousness being imputed or accounted to him, on the same account he will be enabled to go on from one degree of grace to another, in a progressive life of sanctification, until he is fit to be gathered to the garner of God, who will certainly take to glory every man who is really justified; that is, he, Christ, has become wisdom (light to convince), righteousness (to justify), sanctification (to cleanse), and redemption (to glorify) to every truly regenerated soul.

6. In this item is stated the orthodox or traditional doctrine of the Trinity.

The Synod, at the same meeting at which this brief platform of doctrine was adopted, appointed a committee to prepare a fuller creed. This committee simply read over the Westminster Confession item by item, changing or expunging such expressions as did not suit them. This process was repeated; and while the members of the committee were thus at work, by order of the Synod all the churches were observing a day of fasting and prayer for the divine guidance to be given to them.

Oh for those trustful days! Is it always true that the period of a church's earliest love is also the period of its sweetest repose in Christ? A day of fasting and prayer for the divine guidance! The Cumberland Presbyterian Church has always been religious. It has always believed, with St. Bernard, that God "is more easily and worthily sought and found by prayer than by disputation." But its mysticism has never been either unchurchly or heretical.

The principal departures, on the part of the committee, from the Westminster Confession were in chapters iii. and x. relative to "eternal decrees" and "effectual calling." The Presbyterian polity and the evangelical Presbyterian doctrines were retained. This revised Confession of Faith was adopted October 14, 1814, and continued to be the creed of the church until 1883, at which time a revision of it was adopted. The revision of 1883 retains the same essential doctrines set forth in that of 1814, though in a somewhat briefer form and under a slightly modified ar-

rangement. The Catechism was also changed in so far as to make it conform to the Confession.

The Confession is by no means blind to the eternal sovereignty of God, nor to the stern fact of eternal retribution, but it delights in beholding God as exercising his sovereignty in love, and in contemplating the various aspects of the truth that he so loved the fallen and unworthy world as to give his only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have eternal life—and this other truth, that "the manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal."

But times change, and men and churches change with them. It is no secret that for years Presbyterian pulpits have either been drifting or consciously moving toward Cumberland Presbyterianism. Thousands of them are already in the same harbor. Statements that were once bitterly denounced, and for the making of which the Cumberland Presbyterians were excluded by the Presbyterian leaders from sitting at the same Lord's table, are now on everybody's tongue. Monuments in memory of the slain prophets are being erected by those whose fathers slew them. Cumberland Presbyterians have never denied that God is just. That the just Judge of all the earth will do right, is indeed one of their cardinal principles. But both in their Confession and in their pulpits they bring into bold relief that other aspect of the same truth wherein it is said that "God is love." And in reply to the question, How is it, in view of manifold teachings of his Word interpreted in the light of that idea of eternal right with which he himself has endowed us, how is it that God could create some men and angels for no other purpose than to damn them for his own good pleasure? it has never been regarded as sufficient to say, "It is a part of the plan." No church can stand more reverently in the presence of holy

and inscrutable mysteries than can the Cumberland Presbyterian; but it creates no mysteries, and for the most part it stands silently, the only mystery which it parades, either in its books or in its pulpit, being the mystery of God's redeeming wisdom and love. The distinction between the preterition, or reprobation, of adults and of infants is one that can exist only in words; for if one was eternally reprobated, he was of course eternally reprobated in infancy and all the other stages of his life, regardless of the time when he should die. Shall we think of God reprobating, or as even negatively passing over, any human being simply on condition that that human being did not die in infancy? That is what it amounts to. But the Presbyterian pulpit and the Presbyterian theological schools and press now abound in vigorous rejection of the severe elements of Calvinism which the Cumberland Presbyterian Church disowned long ago.

Concerning the Cumberland Presbyterian view of the atonement a further word may also be permitted. With this church it is an unlimited "provision." The phrases "unlimited in sufficiency" and "limited in efficiency" can be employed just as consistently by Cumberland Presbyterians as by the most rigid Calvinists, but the former do not interpret them as do the latter. Cumberland Presbyterians are not Universalists. They know only too well—or at least they have only too good reasons to apprehend—that all men will not be saved. But the "limited efficiency" is not due to an eternal decree; and the unlimited sufficiency on the divine side is only an unlimited possibility on the human. In dying for the race Christ died for every member of the race in the same sense, in the first place. In dying for all he gave to each a possibility of being saved. He died in behalf of the race; he died in the place of the race—the potential substitute of all, the

actual substitute, so far as accountable adults are concerned, of the believing individual only, him who identifies himself with Christ as Christ identified himself with him; and thus, going with Christ into death, he also returns with him to newness of life. Cumberland Presbyterianism, of course, rejects that interpretation of "substitution" which the more rigid Calvinistic view of election and reprobation requires to be placed upon it.

No penalty is in any case suffered twice; and Christ's atoning death is in no degree rendered nugatory by the fact that all men are not saved. The atoning death which is void of effect in the case of him who is never saved, is the same atoning death which is efficacious in the case of him who is saved—and the reason has just been stated. It required just as much divine effort, reverently speaking, to save a thousand as to save many myriads, and no more to save the latter number than the former. In either case it was the death of the Son of God, and in either case his death shall not be without avail; he shall see of the travail of his soul and be satisfied.

But however differently individual Cumberland Presbyterian writers may interpret the facts, the church as a whole has found it possible, so it thinks, to adjust its theory of the atonement to its theory of the decrees, and yet avoid Universalism on the one hand and Pelagianism on the other; and the adjustment has been found to work well in the actual experience of the church. So also is the Presbyterian Church doing, quietly or in controversy, as it moves gradually away from the old severe constructions placed upon the doctrines of reprobation and election.

And as the times have been changing, the Cumberland Presbyterian Church has gone on in her quiet and yet fervent and diligent way, conserving the truth as she sees it, seeking him whom her soul loves, gleaning such sheaves

as she might in the Master's fields. She hath done what she could to make the world better and happier. She has not screamed in the street. She has broken none of her Lord's bruised reeds, nor quenched his smoking flax. And while in doing all this she has seen hard times, she has not been utterly discouraged.

Perhaps in some sweet irenical day the mother church and the daughter shall embrace each other again, and they which have been twain so long shall live no more asunder.

HISTORY OF THE SOUTHERN PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

BY

THOMAS C. JOHNSON, D.D.,

PROFESSOR OF ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY AND POLITY, IN UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, HAMPDEN SIDNEY, VA.

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PREFACE.

THIS sketch is designed, first of all, to trace the Southern Presbyterian Church from its roots in Europe; to exhibit its origin as a separate church, its *peculiar* constitution and character, its growth in numbers and in working efficiency, its work at home and abroad, its relation to other Christian churches; to set forth, thus, the great problems now before it; in short, to put before the student what the church has been, and is, and should be as a factor in the great forces which go to make up universal church history.

It is designed, secondly, to furnish the materials for answers to three specific questions, viz.: Why did the Southern Presbyterian Church come into separate existence? Why has it continued till the present a separate existence? Are there any sufficient reasons why it should continue for a longer time to maintain a separate existence? These are *paramount* questions for this generation.

We have *believed that Christians should labor for church unity*, not of the spirit only, but of the form. While exalting the spiritual above the external, and holding that a true unity in Christ the head, a unity established by the Spirit and maintained by the same blessed agent, is compatible with the existence of a host of denomina-

tions, we have believed that Christians should labor to exhibit that unity in the external life of the church; and that our Lord's intercessory prayer can only be *completely* fulfilled when the church militant is outwardly one.

But we have, also, believed that a church must exist as a separate denomination while, and only while, in a convenient territory, it has one or a group of truths of fundamental importance for which to witness. And we have believed, furthermore, that there can be no union of denominations pleasing in God's sight which is not intelligently effected. We believe that the church should know its own past and its present, what it has stood for and what it should now stand for, before it can, in a way to please God, propose organic union. In the same way it should know its neighbor with whom it thinks of uniting.

We have done what we could in these few pages to exhibit fearlessly and truthfully what appears to have been the true character and purpose of our church to the present. Readers of more schools than one, perhaps, will be displeased with the truth. We have *wished* to be *convincing*. We have, therefore, resorted to laborious compiling, made the *unimpeachable records of the churches* talk wherever possible; and we have tried to reduce our own personal equation to the lowest degree. We have let the reader look through his own eyes at the facts, instead of through ours.

THOMAS CARY JOHNSON.

HAMPDEN SIDNEY, VA.,
January, 1894.

THE SOUTHERN PRESBYTERIANS.

CHAPTER I.

THE SOUTHERN PRESBYTERIANS BEFORE 1861.[1]

THE European sources of Southern Presbyterians are almost as numerous as European nations; but the chiefest of such sources have been the English Presbyterians, the Dutch, the Germans, the Swiss, the Huguenots, the Scotch, and the Scotch-Irish.

The English Presbyterians came into the colonies of Virginia and the Carolinas from the start. Some of these were nonconforming; and of these those in Virginia after 1531 or 1533[2] suffered much persecution, some of them being driven to the colonies of Maryland or the Carolinas, while others were forced into conformity. After the middle of the eighteenth century, when the Presbyterian Church came to be formally tolerated, its numerous converts from the Episcopal Church showed, with a degree of

1 This chapter is intended to present only such a brief sketch of Presbyterians, New and Old School, in the South, before 1861, as is necessary to enable the reader to comprehend the body whose history he is invited to follow through the period 1861–93. For a fuller account of these peoples before 1861, the reader is referred to vol. vi., "Presbyterians."

2 Hodge, part i., p. 45. Compare Hays, p. 60.

probability, that there had been many *conforming* Presbyterians in that church. Indeed, Alexander Whitaker, "the self-denying apostle of Virginia,"[1] had been a Cambridge Puritan. He had established a Congregational Presbytery[2] for the government of the local church. He had written "neither surplice nor subscription is spoken of" in Virginia.[3] The Puritans in the Virginia colony continued to have great freedom up to about 1530. After that they suffered persecution, as we have asserted.

The Dutch were among the early settlers of Maryland and of Charleston, S. C.[4] Later they were found in the valley of Virginia, and throughout the South. The Germans during the first three quarters of the eighteenth century immigrated into Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia, chiefly from Pennsylvania, but also directly from South Germany.[5] Bodies of Swiss, too, came into South Carolina between 1730 and 1750.[6] The Dutch and Swiss were Presbyterians; and so, also, was a moiety of the Germans. The Huguenots, particularly after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, made settlements in our borders, the chief of which were in Virginia, on the James, and in South Carolina, in Charleston and its neighborhood.[7] The Scotch immigrated into our territory in large numbers from the beginning of the eighteenth century on. Scotchmen from Argyleshire were in North Carolina on the Cape Fear River in 1741. After the battle of Culloden and the defeat of the Jacobites, Scotch Highlanders came over in great numbers and settled beside their brethren on the Cape Fear and its tributaries.[8] Scotchmen settled during the first half of the eighteenth century, also, in parts of South Carolina, in Georgia, in

[1] Bancroft, vol. i., p. 141.
[2] Briggs, p. 86.
[3] Bancroft, vol. i., p. 141.
[4] *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 430.
[5] Hodge, part i., p. 50.
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] Bancroft, vol. i., p. 432.
[8] Hodge, part i., p. 66.

the Piedmont region of North Carolina and Virginia, and had settled at a much earlier time in Maryland. The Scotch-Irish, irritated by increase of rents, and by a tax to support a church not of their choice, began in the first quarter of the eighteenth century a more rapid immigration into America. These people, coming directly, or after a stoppage in Pennsylvania, spread themselves over the valley of Virginia, the Piedmont region of Virginia and the Carolinas, and more sparsely over the whole remaining South Atlantic Colonies[1]—"a staunch and stalwart stock" of Presbyterians.

From these older States the settlers, or their children, subsequently passed over into the lands of Kentucky and Missouri, of Tennessee and Alabama, of Mississippi and the States of the Southwest. In their earlier immigrations the Scotch and Scotch-Irish did not, as a rule, settle in large bodies, but singly, and were scattered widely over the Middle and Southern Colonies. Hence, up to 1750 they had, except in a few favored localities, no regular religious ministrations. There was, of course, no organic church connection among them. Independency, even, was in the ascendant in the Charleston colony, the most favored of them all in the ecclesiastical privileges.

Nevertheless, from about 1650 on, Presbyterian settlers in Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina were looked after by such servants of God as the Revs. Francis Doughty, about 1657–59, Matthew Hill, 1667–76, William Trail, Francis Makemie, and their followers; while the churches of Charleston and in the vicinity were served by Puritans like John Cotton, or Scotch Presbyterians like Archibald Stobo, and their followers.

Their Character, as Illustrated in the Civil and Religious Life.—Under this guidance and the "favoring conditions of

[1] Hodge, part i., pp. 67, 68; Howe, vol. i., pp. 197 ff.

our Southern life" these several strains of European Presbyterianism were so blended as to make "a body of Christians, singularly homogeneous, conservative, truth-loving, and ardently devoted to right and liberty. The courtly and cultivated Huguenot, the stern and simple-hearted Highlander, the strong, earnest, faithful Scotch-Irish, the conscientious Puritan, and the frank, honest Teuton, contributed of the wealth of their character and the glory of their history. Devotion to principle was the guiding star of their action."[1] They have been devoted to the maintenance of their *civil* rights. No people has shown a higher degree of patriotism. The act of the Scotch-Irish met in Abingdon, Va., January 20, 1775;[2] the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence, made on the 20th of May, 1775;[3] their conduct in the Revolutionary War—such as to draw from General Washington the famous encomium on the men of Western Virginia—are sufficient proofs. Nor were they prepared to show less of heroic devotion to the country in the calamitous struggle of 1861. They have been equally zealous, to say the least, for *religious liberty*. The petition from the Presbytery of Hanover, dated November 11, 1774, "To the Honorable the Speaker and the Gentlemen of the House of Burgesses," of Virginia,[4] and the memorials from the same Presbytery—in 1776[5] and in 1777[6]—to the same legislative body, at once leave no doubt as to where Mr. Jefferson got his views of religious liberty, and evince the fact of the zeal of the Presbyterian people of Virginia for religious liberty. These people have shown themselves as eager for the *truth* as for lib-

[1] Dr. Moses D. Hoge, in Hays's "Presbyterians," p. 480.
[2] Bancroft, vol. iv., pp. 100, 101; Briggs, p. 348.
[3] Bancroft, vol. iv., p. 196; Briggs, p. 340.
[4] This petition was published for the first time in the "Central Presbyterian," May 16, 1888, by the Hon. Wm. Wirt Henry, LL D., Richmond, Va.
[5] See Foote's "Sketches of Virginia," series i., pp. 323 ff.
[6] *Ibid.*, series i., pp. 326, 327.

erty. Academies were often erected beside the churches. The pastors were frequently teachers as well as preachers. Queen's Museum, in Mecklenburg County, N. C., was founded and obtained a charter from the colonial government in 1770. This charter, though set aside by the king and council, was amended, and a second time granted by the colonial legislature in 1771. The king repealed it by proclamation, evidently because several of the trustees were Presbyterian ministers.[1] The independent commonwealth of North Carolina chartered the institution again in 1777 as Liberty Hall. About the same time Hanover Presbytery took "into consideration the great expediency of erecting a seminary of learning." As a result academies were very soon established, one of which grew into Washington College in the valley of Virginia, the other into Hampden Sidney College in Southside, Va., each being at once a monument to patriotism and fidelity to religious convictions, and the means of supporting these virtues as long as, in the mercy of God, it shall remain substantially unperverted.

So the church ran her early course.

We cannot, in this sketch, follow her in detail to 1861. That can be fairly inferred from her start and from her condition on the eve of the war between the States. We beg leave, though, to point out one very worthy trait of Southern Presbyterians during the early part of the nineteenth century. They were a missionary body. It was from Dr. John Holt Rice, the founder of Union Theological Seminary, in Virginia, that the famous overture on missions came before the General Assembly of 1831. He asked the Assembly to adopt the following resolutions:

First, That the Presbyterian Church in the United States is a missionary society, the object of which is to aid in the conversion of the world; and

[1] Foote's "Sketches of North Carolina," p. 513.

that every member of the church is a member for life of the said society, and bound, in maintenance of his Christian character, to do all in his power for the accomplishment of this object. Second, ministers of the gospel in connection with the Presbyterian Church are most solemnly required to present this subject to the members of their respective congregations, using every effort to make them feel their obligations and to induce them to contribute according to their ability.[1]

This paper stirred the church.

The Status of Southern Presbyterians in 1861.—In 1861 there were south of Mason and Dixon's line 12 synods of the Old School Church, 1275 churches, and 96,550 communicants. There were three flourishing theological seminaries within her bounds, each under the control of one or more synods, viz., Union Seminary in Virginia, Columbia Seminary in Columbia, S. C., and Danville in Kentucky. There were important colleges under the more or less careful superintendence of the body, e.g., Hampden Sidney College and Washington College in Virginia, Davidson College in North Carolina, Center College in Kentucky, *et al.*

In 1861 there were in the same territory, constituting the United Synod of the South, 3 synods, with 199 churches, 11,581 communicants. Steps had been taken for the founding of a theological seminary, and $70,000 had been subscribed and partly paid in for this purpose. The Synod had under its care one college, at Marysville, Tenn.

No part of the church had a more cultivated ministry than the Southern Presbyterian Church of the Old School. Their seminaries were manned by some of the very ablest men in either of the two churches, North and South. Thornwell was in his meridian splendor at Columbia; Dabney and Peck, slower in reaching their maturity, as

[1] For the whole of this able and solemnly important paper see Assembly's Digest, Baird's Collection, p. 363.

well as younger in years, were teaching with marked ability at Union; Breckenridge was illustrating as the day, or obscuring, according to his subject, as the night, the themes with which the theologian deals, at Danville; Palmer and Hoge and others were edifying as well as delighting large and cultivated audiences day after day. A ministry, generally highly cultured and especially trained, was serving with acceptance the people of God. No considerable part of the church elsewhere surpassed the South in all that goes to make intelligent and honest Presbyterianism. It had been a happy, a blessed portion of the Church of God.

CHAPTER II.

THE ORIGIN OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE CONFEDERATE STATES.

JUPITER swallowed Metis lest she should bear, in their coming child, one wiser than himself. But that child sprang, the fully panoplied Minerva, wise and strong and impregnably chaste, from the head of her monster father. If any one had asked, "What are the grounds on which Minerva claims the right of existence among the gods and goddesses?" it might well have been said: "On the ground of the virtuous strength and happiness which she can achieve in and for her worshipers, as well as on the ground of the repentance and reformation which she may be able to work among the gods and goddesses themselves, including her father."

The occasion of the Presbyterian Church in the United States coming into existence was the successful effort, on the part of the majority of the Old School Assembly of 1861, to usurp the crown rights of the Redeemer in making new terms of church-membership; and, in the same act, to prostitute the church to the state so far as to hold the Southern Presbyterians to the support of the Federal Government, as over against the governments of their several sovereign States, on pain of ejection from the church in case of failure to comply with the terms of church-membership thus made.

On the 12th of April, 1861, the Confederacy had been forced to begin the bombardment of Fort Sumter; for the Federal Government had been about to provision anew

and reinforce and render unconquerable this doorway which it held into the heart of the South. The bombardment turned out to be so successful that in spite of a heroic resistance the fort fell into the hands of the South within thirty-six hours. The fall of Fort Sumter was used with consummate skill by the Northern demagogues. Holy Writ tells us of a certain Levite, whose concubine was done to death by the men of Gibeah in Benjamin, that "when he was come into his house, he took a knife, and laid hold on his concubine, and divided her, together with her bones, into twelve pieces, and sent her into all the coasts of Israel, so that it came to pass that all that saw it said, There was no such deed done nor seen from the day that the children of Israel came up out of Egypt until this day." Not less striking were the representations made by the leaders of the North over the "insult to the national flag in attacking Fort Sumter." The passions of the masses were aroused. The whole country was aflame with war. On the 15th of April President Lincoln issued a call for seventy-five thousand volunteers to quell the "insurrection," as he called it. Though his proclamation drove four more States into the Confederacy, the rest of the country responded with four times as many men as he asked for.

The Assembly of 1861, which convened in Philadelphia on May 16th, met in an atmosphere surcharged with the war-spirit. Many ministers and elders from all sections of the country had fondly hoped that the church might maintain her unity in spite of political disunion. They had hoped that her spirituality, her divine origin, and Christ-like character might be all the more brightly illustrated by her course in the midst of what even then gave awful promise of being one of the fiercest civil wars of all history. But their hopes were doomed to an early

blighting. Such union could only be maintained by the church's keeping within her own sphere, and steering clear of the political issues on which the ship of state had become dismembered. And there was a party—at first small, but destined to rapid growth under extraneous pressure and ignoble motives[1]—in the church which had determined to make the General Assembly indorse the Federal Government at Washington and pledge its support thereto. This was, of course, to prostitute the church to the state—nay, to a party in the state. But what is it men will not prostitute, and to what will they not make that prostitution when driven on by prejudice, passion, and revenge?

The venerable Dr. Spring, of the Brick Presbyterian Church, New York, probably at the urgent insistence of others, with a clearer vision of the nature and consequence of the action but with less of conscience than himself thereat, so early as the third day of the Assembly introduced the following resolution:

> That a special committee be appointed to inquire into the expediency of the Assembly's making some expression of their devotion to the Union of these States, and their loyalty to the government; and if in their judgment it is expedient so to do, they report what that expression shall be.[2]

[1] Dr. J. H. Vandyke says: "There was at first a large majority who were opposed to any political deliverance whatever. They were in favor of simply asserting the great Scriptural doctrine of obedience to civil rulers, accompanied by kind injunctions to study the things that made for peace. But as the Assembly proceeded with its business, the pressure from without, and a little leaven working within, changed the spirit and purposes of the body. That kind of martyrdom so eloquently portrayed by Dr. Thomas a few days ago, as consisting of applause in the galleries, and other indications of popular will, began to make its influence felt. There were, moreover, indications of another kind of martyrdom in the streets, whose instruments would not be waving of pocket-handkerchiefs and clapping of fair hands, but tar and feathers, ropes and lamp-posts. . . . Whether from these causes or not, it is well known that the Assembly underwent a speedy and marvelous change in its spirit and in its purpose; until 'in an evil hour her rash hand reaching forth,' she passed the famous, or rather *infamous*, Spring Resolution."—"Concise Record of the Assembly," 1866, p. 55.

[2] "Minutes of the General Assembly," O. S., 1861, p. 303.

This resolution was laid on the table by a vote of 123 to 102. But the Progressives were not to be balked. Only three days later Dr. Spring offered a paper with resolutions respecting the appointment of religious solemnities for the 4th of July next, and the duty of ministers and churches in relation to the "condition of our country."[1] The house made the consideration of these resolutions the first order of the day for the Friday next, May 24th. Friday brought a protracted and heated debate over the resolutions, and a substitute moved by Dr. Charles Hodge. The debate continued Saturday and Monday. Monday evening there was an effort made, under the lead of Dr. Hodge, to lay the whole business on the table; but it was defeated, the vote being 87 yeas and 153 nays. Tuesday morning the matter was referred to a special committee, with instructions to report in the afternoon. Nine were appointed on this committee. They presented a majority report with eight names affixed, and a minority report with one name subscribed, that of Dr. William C. Anderson, of San Francisco. After further discussion the majority report failed of adoption, the vote standing 84 yeas and 128 nays. Dr. Anderson's report was then taken up. It consisted of Dr. Spring's resolutions, with a slight alteration. It received an amendment, making the report as follows:

Gratefully acknowledging the distinguished bounty and care of Almighty God toward this favored land, and recognizing our obligation to submit to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, this General Assembly adopts the following resolutions:

Resolved, 1. That in view of the present agitated and unhappy condition of our country, the first day of July next be set apart as a day of prayer throughout our bounds; and that on this day ministers and people be called on humbly to confess and bewail our national sins; to offer our thanks to the Father of lights for his abundant and undeserved goodness toward us as a nation; to seek his guidance and blessing upon our rulers and their coun-

[1] "Minutes of the General Assembly," 1861, p. 308.

sels, as well as on the Congress of the United States about to assemble; and to implore him, in the name of Jesus Christ, the great High-Priest of the Christian profession, to turn away his anger from us, and speedily restore to us the blessings of an honorable peace.

Resolved, 2. That this General Assembly, in the spirit of Christian patriotism which the Scriptures enjoin, and which has always characterized this church, do hereby acknowledge and declare our obligations to promote and perpetuate, so far as in us lies, the integrity of these United States, and to strengthen, uphold, and encourage the Federal Government in the exercise of all its functions under our noble Constitution; and to this Constitution, in all its provisions, requirements, and principles, we profess our unabated loyalty. And to avoid all misconceptions, the Assembly declare that by the terms the "Federal Government," as here used, is not meant any particular administration, or the peculiar opinions of any particular party, but that central administration which, being at any time appointed and inaugurated according to the forms prescribed in the Constitution of the United States, is the visible representative of our national existence.[1]

This paper was adopted by a vote of 156 yeas to 66 nays. It was revolutionary, filled with the very genius of usurpation and prostitution of the things of the Lord Jesus Christ. Dr. Hodge and others gave notice that they protested against this action of the Assembly for reasons to be given. The protest when it came was substantially as follows:

We, the undersigned, respectfully protest against the action of the General Assembly in adopting the minority report of the committee on the state of the country.

We make this protest, not because we do not acknowledge loyalty to our country to be a moral and religious duty, according to the Word of God, which requires us to be subject to the powers that be, nor because we deny the right of the Assembly to enjoin that, and all other like duties, on the ministers and churches under its care, but because we deny the right of the General Assembly to decide the political question to what government the allegiance of Presbyterians as citizens is due, and its right to make that decision a condition of membership in our church.

That the paper adopted by the Assembly does decide the political question just stated is in our judgment undeniable. It asserts, not only the loyalty of this body to the Constitution of the Union, but it promises, in the name of all the churches and ministers whom it represents, to do all that in them

[1] "Minutes of the General Assembly," O. S., 1861, pp. 329, 330.

lies to strengthen, uphold, and encourage the Federal Government. It is, however, a notorious fact that many of our ministers and members conscientiously believe that the allegiance of the citizens of this country is primarily due to the States to which they respectively belong; and, therefore, that when any State renounces its connection with the United States and its allegiance to the Constitution, the citizens of that State are bound by the laws of God to continue loyal to their State, and obedient to its laws. The paper adopted by the Assembly virtually declares, on the other hand, that the allegiance of the citizen is due to the United States, anything in the Constitution or ordinances or laws of the several States to the contrary notwithstanding.

It is not the loyalty of the members constituting this Assembly, nor of our churches or ministers in any one portion of our country, that is thus asserted, but the loyalty of the whole Presbyterian Church, North and South, East and West.

Allegiance to the Federal Government is recognized or declared to be the duty of all churches and ministers represented in this body. In adopting this paper, therefore, the Assembly does decide the great political question which agitates and divides the country. The question is, Whether the allegiance of our citizens is primarily to the State or to the Union. However clear our own convictions of the correctness of this decision may be, or however deeply we may be impressed with its importance, yet it is not a question which this Assembly has a right to decide.

That the action of the Assembly in the premises does not only decide the political question referred to, but makes that decision a term of membership in our church, is no less clear. It puts into the mouths of all represented in this body a declaration of loyalty and allegiance to the Union and to the Federal Government. But such a declaration made by our members residing in what are called the seceding States is treasonable. Presbyterians under the jurisdiction of those States cannot, therefore, make that declaration. They are consequently forced to choose between allegiance to their State and allegiance to the church.

The General Assembly, in thus deciding a political question, and making that decision practically a condition of membership to the church, has in our judgment violated the constitution of the church, and usurped the prerogative of the Divine Master. . . .

In the third place, we protest because we regard the action of the Assembly as altogether unnecessary and uncalled for. . . . We are fully persuaded that we best promote the interests of the country by preserving the integrity and unity of the church.

We regard this action of the Assembly, therefore, as a great national calamity, as well as the most disastrous to the interests of our church which has marked its history.

We protest, fourthly, because we regard the action of the Assembly as unjust and cruel in its bearings on our Southern brethren.

And finally, we protest because we believe the act of the Assembly will not

only diminish the resources of the church, but greatly weaken its power for good, and expose it to the danger of being carried away more and more from its true principles by a worldly and fanatical spirit.[1]

Fifty-seven other men, along with Dr. Hodge, honored themselves by affixing their names to this paper, which for its political and ecclesiastical sagacity, its gentlemanly and Christian spirit, is deserving of everlasting admiration. Fourteen of the only sixteen Southern commissioners were among the signers. The other forty-four names included, in addition to that of the revered Princeton theologian, that of the moderator, the Rev. Dr. John T. Backus, and of the moderator of the preceding Assembly, the Rev. Dr. John W. Yeomans, who had preached the opening sermon on the text John xviii. 36, "My kingdom is not of this world"; and many more names of the wisest and godliest men of the whole North.

The best possible foil for Dr. Hodge's protest, one that makes it shine like a jewel in an ash-bank, was the answer to it by the Assembly's committee. They "readily admitted" that the Assembly's action had political as well as moral bearings; and then went on to produce an almost matchless specimen of pettifogging and sophistical demagoguery in the vain attempt to support the Assembly as just and Scriptural in its conduct. The haters of democracy might find in this instance a very convenient proof of the folly of the rule by the mere numerical majority in collusion against principle and intelligence.[2] In itself it would be both interesting and instructive to illustrate the Machiavellianism of this reply at length, but it would carry us too far aside from the particular course of events with which we are directly concerned. We recall our attention, therefore, to the Spring resolutions, and to the

[1] "Minutes of the General Assembly," 1861, pp. 339, 340.
[2] See "Minutes of the General Assembly," O. S., 1861, pp. 342–344.

view taken of them by Dr. Hodge and his party in the North. That party was not moved by sectionalism. Its judgment was not warped by self-interest. It was not a secession party. It was not largely a slave-owning party. The student of history will remember these facts when studying the reception which Southern Presbyterians gave the resolutions by the venerable pastor of the Brick Church. There is no proof of their having been moved by schism, heresy, or selfishness.

Almost the whole Southern wing of the church regarded the Assembly's action just as the conservative party in the North did. They saw: first, that the political question had been decided for the whole Presbyterian Church represented in the Assembly; second, that the action of the Assembly in the premises did not only decide the political question referred to, but made that decision a term of membership in the church; third, that it was cruel in its bearings on the Southern members of the church, making them renounce allegiance either to church or state; fourth, that in the political adjudication the church had been guilty of usurpation of the Redeemer's rights, and the prostitution of the Redeemer's bride; fifth, that, finally, the flood-gates of politico-religious syncretism, of fanaticism, had been thrown open. These things they saw; and these things, together with the actual setting up of the Confederate Government, were the objective causes, the occasions, of the rise of the Presbyterian Church, South.

Some of the strongest intellects as well as some of the most devoted Christian ministers in the whole church were in the South. They desired a church on whose banner should be inscribed, "The Spirituality of the Church," "The power of the Church Court as to kind and degree only what the Word of God as interpreted by the Stand-

ards of the Church makes it," "A faithful adherence to the Constitution of the Church," "The absolute Headship of Christ in the Church." They wanted a church, and a better one than that from which they had been virtually ejected. They wanted a church that looked to her bridegroom as her very lord, that wore not the skirts of a prostitute; a church whose courts "would never ask what might be a man's view of the Constitution of the United States, of the doctrine of State rights, or of any other political question"; but "What does he think of the headship of Christ, of the atonement, of regeneration? is he willing to adopt sincerely and in their true import our time-honored standard of doctrine and church order?"[1] Such a church as the Old School Presbyterian had been, but was no longer, a church of their own people, among whom homogeneity would prevent all retarding friction of her chariot-wheels as her armies should go forth against the world. They wanted a church for their own sakes, their fellows' sakes, and for the sake of truth and God.

In these glorious aspirations and honorable desires we find the true causes of the existence of the Presbyterian Church, South. As these causes are to receive fuller illustration incidentally as we proceed, we shall for the present dispense with their further elucidation, and pass on to trace the organization of the church in process, and then to set forth the completeness of the form of organization, and its adjustment to its ecclesiastical environment.

The Organization of the Body and its Adjustment to its Environment.—Most of the Southern Presbyteries—all, perhaps—had held, as the custom is, their spring meetings prior to the time of the Philadelphia Assembly. But such of them as had adjourned meetings, or *pro re nata*

[1] See speech of Dr. J. H. Vandyke, in "Concise Records of the Assembly of St. Louis," 1866, p. 54.

meetings, on the heel of that Assembly, protested with various degrees of vigor against the high-handed usurpation and abhorred degradation of that body. The Presbytery of Memphis, in an adjourned meeting on the 13th of June, renounced connection with the Assembly for its unchristian and revolutionary action, and requested all concurring Presbyteries to meet with them by their commissioners, in Memphis, on the third Thursday in May, 1863, for the purpose of organizing a General Assembly. It also suggested to the Presbyteries the advisability of their calling meetings and appointing delegates to a convention to meet in Atlanta on the 15th of August, "to consult upon various important matters, especially our benevolent operations." This action was immediately followed by that of the East Alabama Presbytery, which was called together to consider the matter. It did not secede from the Assembly, but earnestly protested, and declared that it would not acquiesce in the Assembly's action. It then called for a convention of the Presbyteries to meet in Columbia, S. C., on the Thursday before the second Sunday in September, 1861, aiming thus to secure coöperative action.

On the 9th of July the Presbytery of New Orleans formally renounced the jurisdiction of the Old Assembly, ordered that a copy of their action be sent to the Southern Presbyteries, and requested them, if they should concur in this action, to send commissioners authorized to organize an Assembly, to commence its meetings on the 4th of December, 1861, in Augusta, Ga.

About the same time many of the Presbyteries met and chose delegates to a convention in Atlanta, Ga., during July. Individuals throughout the church had been calling for such a convention, as an advisory body. Prominent ministers in the Synod of Virginia had, on the close of the

Philadelphia Assembly, at once published a circular, inviting ministers and elders in Southern Synods to meet in convention in Richmond, Va., on the 24th of July. Prominent ministers in the South Carolina Synod early agitated the calling of such a convention; and Dr. Thornwell, at least, expressed a preference for the Piedmont region of North Carolina, and named, specially, Greensboro as a suitable place. Such a convention was needed to give harmony of action touching their relation to the Old Assembly, to the several Presbyteries and Synods, and to prevent the evils which might arise from a temporary disorganization, especially to make some temporary arrangement concerning the benevolent operations of the church. The upshot of all these calls for a convention was the final fixing upon Atlanta as the place, and the 15th of August, 1861, as the time, for a convention of representatives from the Presbyteries.

The Atlanta Convention met at the time and place appointed. It was composed of twenty delegates from eleven Presbyteries, with fourteen corresponding members from six Presbyteries, and was in session three days. In reference to the benevolent operations, it suggested and recommended that the work of education, publication, domestic missions, etc., should be left to the Presbyteries, Synods, and the Southwestern Advisory Committee of New Orleans; "but as to foreign missions, the convention indorsed the temporary plan for conducting this work which had been devised by certain brethren in Columbia, S. C., and pledged the support of the Presbyteries represented in the convention to it."[1] In reference to the action touching their relations to the Old Assembly, the

[1] Alexander's "Digest," p. 68. We acknowledge here our indebtedness to Mr. Alexander for his account of the Atlanta Convention, which we have freely used in constructing ours.

convention urged all such Presbyteries as had not renounced the jurisdiction of the Old Assembly to do so, and urged all the Presbyteries to declare their adherence and submission to the standards as formerly held, with the single change of the phrase "Presbyterian Church in the United States of America" to this form, viz., "Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America." It further urged that these Presbyteries send commissioners to a General Assembly to be held in Augusta, Ga., on the fourth day of the next December; that Rev. Dr. Waddel, Rev. Dr. Gray, and Dr. Joseph H. Jones, of Atlanta, Ga., be a committee on commissions to examine the credentials of all who should be present; and that the respective Synods review the records of the Presbyteries and confirm the actions herein proposed. Though a convention, this body "disclaimed the right to determine the political relations of individuals, or to solve for them political questions."

The convention did just what it was intended to do. It secured substantial unanimity of action touching relations to the Old Assembly, and touching relations to the standards, on the part of all the Presbyteries and Synods. And it gave a certain support to the temporary agencies of the church until the Assembly should meet and place them on a stable footing. During the remainder of the summer and fall forty-seven Presbyteries, each for itself, dissolved connection with the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. "This separation," says Dr. Palmer, "was based in every case upon the unconstitutional character of the Assembly's legislation. We give the language employed by a single Presbytery, as showing the common ground upon which they all stood: *Resolved*, That in view of the unconstitutional, Erastian, tyrannical, and *virtually exscind-*

ing act of the late General Assembly, sitting at Philadelphia in May last, we do hereby, with a solemn protest against this act, declare, in the fear of God, our connection with the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States to be dissolved."[1] These words are from the minutes of Dr. Palmer's own Presbytery. That he is correct in setting them forth as containing the common ground on which all the Presbyteries stood admits of no doubt. Their sober truth is no more than an adequate expression of the Assembly's action as seen by clear-headed and stout-hearted Presbyterians throughout the South. Before the time for the meeting of the General Assembly at Augusta, the forty-seven Presbyteries, with their ten Synods, had been completely organized under a common constitution, and the Presbyteries had duly authorized and appointed commissioners to form said Assembly.

The First General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, South, convened, according to appointment, on the 4th of December, 1861. One of the most venerable ministers present, the Rev. Dr. Francis McFarland, presided until a regular organization could be effected. On his motion the Rev. Dr. B. M. Palmer was unanimously chosen to preach the opening sermon. Dr. Palmer took for his text Ephesians i. 22, 23—"And gave him to be head over all things to the church, which is his body, the fullness of him that filleth all in all." The preacher felt the responsibility of the moment. What was of greater importance, he was prepared for it. Endowed with a force, splendor, and enthusiasm like Homer's, a fiery logic like Paul's, the speaker had acquired an eloquence comparable to Burke's. He was habitually an honest student, and hence a well-furnished preacher on all occa-

[1] Palmer's "Life of Thornwell," pp. 502, 503.

sions. On great occasions he had the mettle in him which responded readily to the unusual pressure. The present was a very great occasion. After an exordium which makes the reader think that Palmer has a right to preach on the sublime passages of him who, while describing himself as rude in speech, yet wrote as the lord thereof, the preacher announced his subject as: "*The supreme dominion to which Christ is exalted as the Head of the church, and the glory of the church in that relation, as being at once his body and his fullness.*"

The flood-gates of discourse were raised, and the waters gushed forth. The sermon was a true unfolding of the great theme announced. There was but little direct allusion to the situation of the church and the country. The chief of such passages should be set forth to the reader. The preacher had been speaking of the glory which "surrounds the church," *in virtue of the headship of Christ over it.* "The immortal Church of Christ, which survives all change and never knows decay, . . . outliving all time, and henceforth counting her years upon the dial of Eternity." He at length breaks out: "Do we understand, fathers and brethren, the mission of the church given us here to execute? It is to lift throughout the world our testimony for this headship of Christ. The convocation of this Assembly is in part this testimony. But a little while since it was attempted in the most august court of our church to place the crown of our Lord upon the head of Cæsar—to bind that body which is Christ's fullness to the chariot in which Cæsar rides. The intervening months have sufficiently discovered the character of that state under whose yoke this church was summoned to bow the neck in meek obedience; but in advance of these disclosures, the voice went up throughout our land in indignant remonstrance against the usurpa-

tion, in solemn protest against the sacrilege. And now this parliament of the Lord's freemen solemnly declares, that, by the terms of her great charter, none but Jesus may be King in Zion. Once more, in this distant age and in these ends of the earth, the church must declare for the supremacy of her Head, and fling out the consecrated ensign with the old inscription, 'For Christ and his Crown.'"[1]

The Assembly honored itself by directing the publication of the sermon in the appendix to the minutes. So far as we know, it is the only sermon which has been so published in the history of our church. Dr. Palmer was made moderator of the Assembly.

The organization of the church, including its agencies for carrying on all the great enterprises of Christian effort, and the orientation of the church before the world, and especially before the other churches of Jesus Christ throughout the earth, was to be the great work of the Assembly. As soon as the court had been organized Dr. Thornwell introduced two resolutions, which were unanimously adopted. They were as follows:

1. That the style and title of this church shall be The Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America.

2. That this Assembly declare, in conformity with the unanimous decision of our Presbyteries, that the Confession of Faith, the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, the Forms of Government, the Book of Discipline, and the Directory of Worship, which together make up the constitution of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, are the constitution of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America; only substituting the term "Confederate States" for "United States."[2]

In 1865, influenced by the issue of the war, the church came under the necessity of changing its name somewhat, and from that time has borne the legal style and title of

[1] "Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States," 1861, p. 71.

[2] "Minutes of the General Assembly," 1861, p. 7.

"The Presbyterian Church in the United States." Of changes in the constitution we shall have something to say in a future chapter.

As one looks over the proceedings of this Assembly, he observes that though it is but an hour old, it is not wrapped in swaddling-clothes. In the ordinary routine work of such a body, it shows no signs of infancy. But we marvel not at this; for many of the members are among the most skillful presbyters who could have been found in the undivided church. But we do look on with admiration as this fully grown young giant begins to rig the ship in which it is to breast the waves and face the foes of an indefinite future.

One of the first as well as the most notable things which the Assembly did was to organize a permanent agency for conducting foreign missions. And as the principles of organization involved in the establishment of the executive committee of foreign missions were applied in all the executive committees established by the Assembly, we may with profit bring out somewhat fully this plan of the Assembly. Nor can this be better done than by transcribing here the vital parts of the resolutions which the body passed as a means to the organization of said committee; and the vital parts of those touching its attitude to the missions committed already by Providence to its care, and to the unchristian and papal peoples over the face of the globe.

For the organization of a permanent agency for conducting foreign missions, the following resolutions were adopted:

Resolved, 1. That this General Assembly proceed to appoint an Executive Committee, with its proper officers, to carry on this work, and that the character and functions of this committee be comprised in the following articles as its constitution, viz.:

ARTICLE I. This committee shall be known as the Executive Committee of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America. It shall consist of a secretary, who shall be styled the Secretary of Foreign Missions, and who shall be the committee's organ of communication with the Assembly and with all portions of the work intrusted to this committee; a treasurer and nine other members, three of whom, at least, shall be ruling elders or deacons, or private members of the church, all appointed annually by the General Assembly, and shall be directly amenable to it for the faithful and efficient discharge of the duties intrusted to its care. Vacancies occurring *ad interim* it shall fill if necessary.

ART. II. It shall meet once a month, or oftener, if necessary, at the call of the chairman or secretary. It may enact by-laws for its government, the same being subject to the revision and approval of the General Assembly.

ART. III. It shall be the duty of the Executive Committee to take direction and control of the foreign missionary work, subject to such instructions as may be given by the General Assembly from time to time; to appoint missionaries and assistant missionaries; to designate their field of labor, and provide for their support; to receive the reports of the secretary and treasurer, and give such directions in relation to their respective duties as may seem necessary; to authorize appropriations and expenditures of money, including the salaries of officers; to communicate to the churches from time to time such information about the missionary work as may seem important to be known; and to lay before the General Assembly from year to year a full report of the work and of their receipts and expenditures, together with their books of minutes for examination.[1]

The cumbrous and Scripturally unwarranted machinery of boards, as well as voluntary societies, is done away with. The fifth wheel of the chariot is cast aside; a simple committee, directly and immediately responsible to the General Assembly as the Assembly's executive agent, does the work which had in the Old Assembly been done at one time by voluntary societies, and later by largely irresponsible boards. The Assembly had quietly made a long stride toward a more Scriptural form.

The Southern Assembly of 1861 did much more than to frame a good agency for conducting foreign missions. It betrayed a glorious missionary zeal. The new church had in its heart the Saviour's last command to the nascent

[1] "Minutes of the General Assembly," 1861, p. 15.

church of the Apostles. Already, during the summer of 1861 and before the Atlanta Convention, Dr. J. Leighton Wilson and other brethren in Columbia, S. C., had called the attention of the church throughout the Confederacy to the demands of the Presbyterian missions among the tribes of the Indian Territory, and had raised and dispersed about four thousand dollars. After the convention Dr. Wilson, with its indorsement, continued his efforts to support these missions, and also made a personal visit to that interesting but perturbed field. When the Assembly at Augusta met about twenty thousand dollars had been expended in the support of the mission since May by the Southern Presbyterians. Dr. Wilson read a report of his work as provisional secretary. On occasion of that report the Assembly passed a series of resolutions, the following excerpt from which will at once interest the reader and enlighten him further as to the aims of the new-born church toward missions:

Resolved, 2. That the Assembly accepts, with joyful gratitude to God, the care of these missions among our southwestern Indian tribes, the Choctaws, Chickasaws, Creeks, Seminoles, and Cherokees, thus thrown upon them by his providence: missions whose whole history has been signalized by a degree of success attending few other modern missions; to a people comprising near seventy thousand souls, to whom we are bound by obligations of special tenderness and strength, and whose spiritual interest must ever be dear to the Christians of this land. . . . And the Assembly assures those people, and the beloved missionaries who have so long and successfully labored among them, of our fixed purpose, under God, to sustain and carry forward the blessed work, whose foundations have been so nobly and deeply laid. We therefore decidedly approve of the recommendation of the report, that six new missionaries be sent to this field speedily, two of them to commence a new mission among the Cherokees, and that a few small boarding-schools be established with the special design of raising up a native agency.

3. That in the striking fact that the same upheaving and overturning that have called us into existence as a distinct organization, and shut us out from present access to distant nations, have also laid thus upon our hearts and hands these interesting missions, with their fifteen stations and twelve ordained missionaries and sixteen hundred communicants, so that, at the very moment

of commencing our separate existence, we find them forming in fact an organic part of our body; and also in the gratifying promptitude with which our church has advanced to their support—the Assembly recognizes most gratefully the clear foreshadowing of the divine purpose to make our beloved church an eminently missionary church, and a heart-stirring call upon all her people to engage in this blessed work with new zeal and self-denial.

4. The Assembly further rejoices to know that there are a few of the sons of our Southern Zion who are laboring in distant lands, and approves heartily of the action of the committee in forwarding funds for the support of the missions in which they are engaged, trusting that the committee to be appointed will, as soon as possible, ascertain the facts on the subject necessary to their future guidance; and takes this occasion, hence, to direct the longing eyes of the whole church to those broad fields where Satan reigns almost undisturbed—to India, Siam, China, Japan, and especially to Africa and South America, which have peculiar claims upon us, as fields where we are soon to be called to win glorious victories for our King, if we prove faithful; and solemnly charges them that now while in the convulsions that are shaking the earth we hear the tread of his coming footsteps, to take the kingdom bought with his blood, they should be preparing to meet him with their whole hearts and their largest offerings.

5. Finally, the General Assembly desires distinctly and deliberately to inscribe on our church's banner, as she now first unfurls it to the world, in immediate connection with the headship of our Lord, his last command: "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature;" regarding this as the great end of her organization, and obedience to it as the indispensable condition of her Lord's promised presence, and as one great comprehensive object, a proper conception of whose vast magnitude and grandeur is the only thing which, in connection with the love of Christ, can ever sufficiently arouse her energies and develop her resources so as to cause her to carry on, with the vigor and efficiency which true fealty to her Lord demands, those other agencies necessary to her internal growth and home prosperity. The claims of this cause ought therefore to be kept constantly before the minds of the people and pressed upon their consciences. The ministers and ruling elders and deacons and Sabbath-school teachers, and especially the parents, ought, and are enjoined by the Assembly, to give particular attention to all those for whose religious teaching they are responsible, in training them to feel a deep interest in this work, to form habits of systematic benevolence, and to feel and respond to the claims of Jesus upon them for personal service in the field.[1]

Such are the resolutions adopted by the Augusta Assembly, as expressing its attitude toward foreign missions. There is an exalted heroism in them, a sublimity of faith

[1] "Minutes of the General Assembly of 1861," pp. 16, 17.

to which history furnishes few parallels. Surrounded by "a cordon of armies," in a country itself on the point of being one of the world's theaters of most terrific war, the church quietly looks forth on the world as its field, and quietly, fearlessly, and earnestly prepares for its present and its future labors. Sacred Writ tells us that in the time of Zedekiah, when the Babylonian army was besieging Jerusalem and on the point of taking it, Jeremiah, having been shut up in prison for having predicted the city's overthrow, said: "The word of the Lord came unto me, saying, Buy the field that is in Anathoth, for the right of redemption is thine to buy it;" Jeremiah bought the field and weighed out the money, seventeen shekels of silver. His heroism was mightier than that of kings. His faith assured him that there was light beyond the clouds. This church in vision pierces the confines and the gloom of war; and, true to the principles which God had given her grace to see, prepares for their exemplification as God shall give her opportunity.

The Assembly's work relating to home missions is of a piece with that concerning foreign missions. The constitution of the "Executive Committee of Domestic Missions," as it was called, is *mutatis mutandis* altogether "similar in its provisions to that adopted for the Executive Committee of Foreign Missions"[1] save in one important particular, to which we will subsequently return.

The work of this committee had been carried on during the interregnum by the Southwestern Advisory Committee. The Advisory Committee had been created by an order of the General Assembly of 1859, and had gone into active operation in November of that year. It had presented two annual reports to the Old Assembly, through the parent board. On March 1, 1861, it had a

[1] Alexander's "Digest," p. 127.

balance in its treasury of $7729.55; it had received between March and November $4490.37, having thus, during those eight months, $12,219.92. About forty missionaries were, on November 1st, in commission, which was about the number in commission at the meeting of the Philadelphia Assembly. Through the good providence of the blessed Master and Head, amidst the terrible convulsions of the times the work of missions had moved on without a jar. One cannot "fail to notice the wonderful manner in which God prepared and equipped the Southern Presbyterian Church for the storm," "in the creation of this agency, without which domestic missions upon her extended frontier must have been brought abruptly to a close, and many faithful laborers, without a warning, cast loose upon the world, without visible prospect of support for themselves and their families."[1] This committee surrendered its trusts to the Assembly's Executive Committee of Domestic Missions, according to its own proffer and the Assembly's action.

For the time being the Assembly enlarged the number of duties to be rendered by the Committee of Domestic Missions. In framing the constitution of this committee, the Assembly had passed one more resolution than in that of Foreign Missions—a resolution commending to its particular attention a special class of the greater class of people for whom the committee must labor. The Assembly had resolved:

> That the great field of missionary operation among our colored population falls more immediately under the care of the Committee of Domestic Missions; and that the committee be urged to give it serious and constant attention, and the Presbyteries to coöperate with the committee in securing pastors and missionaries for this field.[2]

[1] "Minutes of the Assembly of 1861," pp. 49, 50.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 20.

Two days later the Assembly resolved:

That in view of the service rendered by the action of the Church Extension Committee, as organized under the Old Assembly, and the importance of continuing to extend aid to the feeble churches in the erection of church edifices, the duties of that committee be put in charge of the Committee of Domestic Missions, until otherwise ordered by the General Assembly.[1]

The reader of history has remarked over and over that a time of war is a time unfavorable to religious living and achievement. The reader of the church records in the South, 1861–65, is driven to the conclusion that though stout defenders of their political principles, they were stouter still in defensive and offensive Christian warfare.

The Executive Committee of Education was also constituted by our Assembly. It solemnly reaffirmed "the deliverances made in its former connection concerning the responsibility that rests on the church to secure and maintain for itself a pious, gifted, and learned ministry." It appointed an executive committee to aid candidates for the gospel ministry who needed assistance, and formed a constitution for said committee. Its constitution was as nearly like those which have already been illustrated as its nature and ends allowed.

An Executive Committee of Publication, also with a constitution, the exact analogue of those of the other agencies, was constituted. Important as this branch of church work is, as the nature of the work is so well known it will not prove interesting or instructive to dwell longer upon it.

The following mode of electing these several committees was determined upon by the Assembly:

1. The Assembly's standing committees shall, on making their respective reports, present nominations for the members and officers of their respective executive committees for the ensuing year.

[1] "Minutes of the General Assembly," 1861, p. 35.

2. The presentations of these respective nominations shall not preclude any additional nominations which any member of the Assembly may choose to make.

3. The election of said committee shall not take place until at least one day after the nominations are made.

4. In all cases a majority of the votes of the Assembly shall be necessary to an election.[1]

Thus the Assembly kept its own hand on the helm of all its great enterprises. It had no irresponsible societies to do its work, no barely responsible boards.

One of the most interesting scenes in this Assembly was witnessed on the discussion of the report of the committee on "The Propriety of Securing a Charter for the Assembly." This report contained the draft of a bill to incorporate the trustees of the General Assembly. The peculiar feature of this instrument is contained in its fourth section, which reads as follows:

Be it further enacted, That whenever the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America shall establish any committees, agencies, or boards, for the purposes of education, publication, foreign and domestic missions, church extension, or any other committees, agencies, or boards connected with the benevolent purposes and operations of the said Assembly, any of the said committees, agencies, or boards shall be held and deemed to be branches of this corporation; subject always to the review, control, and power of the said General Assembly; and when any gift, conveyance, or transfer of estate in any wise, any devise, or bequest shall be made to "the trustees of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America," for either of the committees, agencies, or boards of the General Assembly, it shall be good and effectual to transfer the estate, property, or thing in as full and as perfect a manner as if the said committee, agency, or board had been especially incorporated with powers to take and to hold the same, and no misnomer or misconception of the said corporation shall defeat any gift, grant, devise, or bequest to the corporation, wherever the interest shall appear sufficiently upon the face of the gift, grant, devise, or bequest.[2]

The aim in this was "to keep our boards or committees dependent upon and responsible to the General Assembly;

[1] "Minutes of the General Assembly," 1861, p. 22.
[2] *Ibid.*, 1861, pp. 31–33.

to have an organization broad enough to embrace all our undertakings; to keep them so bound together that the Creator may be above the creature; to have the church present the view of the vine and the branches."[1]

This paper, though scrutinized with the keenest insight and amended before its final adoption, was received with the greatest satisfaction. It was felt that the biblical idea of polity was being further approximated. This bill was never enacted, but in substance was wrought into the charter of 1866, granted by the State of North Carolina. But the high-water mark of interest was reached as early as the first Saturday, in the hearing of the "Address to the Churches of Jesus Christ throughout the Earth," prepared by the committee of which Dr. J. H. Thornwell was the chairman. In this letter the church was trying to let the world look on its *orientation*. It aimed to show the other churches its own *raison de être*, and its aims toward God and man. It is a paper of which any church might be proud. As we reread it, again and again remarking its luminous precision of thought and language, its broad and deep charity for all the Lord's own, and the profoundly sanctified spirit that runs through it all, the impression comes with increasing strength that in that single paper is enough to justify the separate existence of the Southern Presbyterian Church. The church is the pillar and ground of the truth or nothing. It is to be doubted whether any other church in existence was more capable of setting forth the truth on the questions in debate than this church showed itself in that letter. Such a document should be read by every student who would know the origin of the Presbyterian Church, South. Our limits admit only of some excerpts, which, however, have been so selected as to give a fair notion of the address as

[1] "Minutes of the General Assembly," 1861, pp. 31–35.

a whole, so far as such a thing can be done. They are as follows:

The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America to all the churches of Jesus Christ throughout the earth, greeting: grace, mercy, and peace be multiplied unto you.

DEARLY BELOVED BRETHREN: It is probably known to you that the Presbyteries and Synods in the Confederate States, which were formerly in connection with the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, have renounced the jurisdiction of that body, and dissolved the ties which bound them ecclesiastically with their brethren of the North. This act of separation left them without any formal union among themselves. But as they are one in faith and order, and still adhere to their old standards, measures were promptly adopted for giving expression to their unity, by the organization of a supreme court, upon the model of the one whose authority they had just relinquished. Commissioners, duly appointed, from all the Presbyteries of these Confederate States, met accordingly, in the city of Augusta, on the fourth day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-one, and then and there proceeded to constitute the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America. . . .

In thus taking its place among sister churches of this and other countries, it seems proper that it should set forth the causes which have impelled it to separate from the church of the North, and to indicate a general view of the course which it feels it incumbent upon it to pursue in the new circumstances in which it is placed.

We should be sorry to be regarded by our brethren in any part of the world as guilty of schism. We are not conscious of any purpose to rend the body of Christ. . . .

We have separated from our brethren of the North as Abraham separated from Lot—because we are persuaded that the interests of true religion will be more effectually subserved by two independent churches, under the circumstances in which the two countries are placed, than by one united body.

1. In the first place, the course of the last Assembly, at Philadelphia, conclusively shows that if we should remain together the political questions which divide us as citizens will be obtruded on our church courts, and discussed by Christian ministers and elders with all the acrimony, bitterness, and rancor with which such questions are usually discussed by men of the world. Our Assembly would present a mournful spectacle of strife and debate. . . .

Two nations, under any circumstances except those of perfect homogeneousness, cannot be united in one church without the rigid exclusion of all civil and secular questions from its halls. Where the countries differ in their customs and institutions, and view each other with an eye of jealousy and

rivalry, if national feelings are permitted to enter the church courts there must be an end of harmony and peace. . . . An Assembly composed of representatives from two such countries could have no security for peace except in a steady, uncompromising adherence to the Scriptural principle, that it would know no man after the flesh; that it would abolish the distinctions of barbarian, Scythian, bond or free, and recognize nothing but the new creature in Christ Jesus. . . .

The only conceivable condition, therefore, upon which the church of the North and of the South could remain together as one body, with any prospect of success, is the rigorous exclusion of the questions and passions of the forum from its halls of debate. This is what always ought to be done. The provinces of church and state are perfectly distinct, and one has no right to usurp the jurisdiction of the other. The state is a natural institute, founded in the constitution of man as moral and social, and designed to realize the idea of justice. It is the society of rights. The church is a supernatural institute, founded in the facts of redemption, and is designed to realize the idea of grace. It is the society of the redeemed. The state aims at social order; the church, at spiritual holiness. The state looks to the visible and outward; the church is concerned for the invisible and inward. The badge of the state's authority is the sword, by which it becomes a terror to evil-doers, and a praise to them that do well; the badge of the church is the keys by which it opens and shuts the kingdom of heaven, according as men are believing or impenitent. The power of the church is exclusively spiritual; that of the state includes the exercise of force. The constitution of the church is a divine revelation; the constitution of the state must be determined by human reason and the course of providential events. The church has no right to construct or modify a government for the state, and the state has no right to frame a creed or polity for the church. They are as planets moving in different orbits, and unless each is confined to its own track, the consequences may be as disastrous in the moral world as collision of different spheres in the world of matter. It is true that there is a point at which their respective jurisdictions seem to meet—in the idea of duty. But even duty is viewed by each in very different lights. The church enjoins it as obedience to God, and the state enforces it as safeguard of order. But there can be no collision unless one or the other blunders as to the things that are materially right. When the state makes wicked laws contradicting the eternal principles of rectitude, the church is at liberty to testify against them, and humbly petition that they may be repealed. In like manner, if the church becomes seditious and a disturber of the peace the state has a right to abate the nuisance. In ordinary cases, however, there is not likely to be a collision. Among a Christian people there is little difference of opinion as to the radical distinctions of right and wrong. The only serious danger is where moral duty is conditioned upon a political question. Under the pretext of inculcating duty, the church may usurp the power to determine the question which conditions it, and that is precisely what she is debarred from doing. The condition

must be given. She must accept it from the state, and then her own course is clear. If Cæsar is your master, then pay tribute to him; but whether the *if* holds—whether Cæsar is your master or not, whether he ever had any just authority, whether he now retains it or has forfeited it—these are points which the church has no commission to adjudicate.

It was ardently desired that the sublime spectacle might be presented of one church upon earth combining in cordial fellowship and holy love—the disciples of Jesus in different and even hostile lands. But alas for the weakness of man! these golden visions were soon dispelled. The first thing which roused our Presbyteries to look the question of separation seriously in the face was the course of the Assembly in venturing to determine, as a court of Jesus Christ, which it did by necessary implication, the true interpretation of the Constitution of the United States as to the kind of government it intended to form. A political theory was, to all intents and purposes, propounded which made secession a crime, the seceding States rebellious, and the citizens who obeyed them traitors. We say nothing here as to the righteousness or unrighteousness of these decrees. What we maintain is, that, whether right or wrong, the church had no right to make them—she transcended her sphere, and usurped the duties of the state. . . .

We frankly admit that the mere unconstitutionality of the proceedings of the last Assembly is not, in itself considered, a sufficient ground of separation. It is the consequence of these proceedings which makes them so offensive. It is the door which they open for the worst passions of human nature in the deliberation of church courts. . . . For the sake of peace, therefore, for Christian charity, for the honor of the church, and for the glory of God, we have been constrained, as much as in us lies, to remove all occasion of offense. We have quietly separated, and we are grateful to God that, while leaving for the sake of peace, we leave it with the humble consciousness that we ourselves have never given occasion to break the peace. We have never confounded Cæsar and Christ; we have never mixed the issues of this world with the weighty matters that properly belong to us as citizens of the kingdom of God.

2. Though the immediate occasion of separation was the course of the General Assembly at Philadelphia in relation to the Federal Government and the war, yet there is another ground on which the independent organization of the Southern Church can be amply and Scripturally maintained.

If it is desirable that each nation should contain a separate and independent church, the Presbyteries of the Confederate States need no apology for bowing to the decree of Providence, which in withdrawing their country from the government of the United States has at the same time determined that they should withdraw from the church of their fathers. It is not that they have ceased to love, not that they have abjured its ancient principles, or forgotten its glorious history. . . .

The antagonism of Northern and Southern sentiments on the subject of slavery lies at the root of all the difficulties which have resulted in the

dismemberment of the Federal Union and involved us in the horrors of an unnatural war. The Presbyterian Church in the United States has been enabled by the divine grace to pursue, for the most part, an eminently conservative, because a thoroughly Scriptural, policy in relation to this delicate question. It has planted itself upon the Word of God, and utterly refused to make slaveholding a sin, or non-slaveholding a term of communion. But though both sections are agreed as to this general principle, it is not to be disguised that the North exercises a deep and settled antipathy to slavery itself, while the South is equally zealous in its defense. Recent events can have no other effect than to confirm the antipathy on one hand, and to strengthen the attachment on the other. . . .

And here we may venture to lay before the Christian world our views as a church upon the subject of slavery. We beg a candid hearing. In the first place, we would have it distinctly understood that, in our ecclesiastical capacity, we are neither the friends nor the foes of slavery—that is to say, we have no commission either to propagate or abolish it. The policy of its existence or non-existence is a question which exclusively belongs to the state. We have no right, as a church, to enjoin it as a duty or condemn it as a sin. Our business is with the duties that spring from the relations—the duties of the master on the one hand, and of the slave on the other. These duties we are to proclaim and enforce with spiritual sanctions. The social, civil, political problems connected with this great subject transcend our sphere, as God has not intrusted to his church the organization of society, the construction of governments, nor the allotment of individuals to their various stations. The church has as much right to preach to the monarchies of Europe and the despotisms of Asia the doctrines of republican equality, as to preach to the government of the South the extirpation of slavery. This position is impregnable, unless it can be shown that slavery is a sin. Upon every other hypothesis, it is so clearly a question for the state that the proposition would never for a moment have been doubted had there not been a foregone conclusion in relation to its moral character. Is slavery, then, a sin?

In answering this question, as a church, let it be distinctly borne in mind that the only rule of judgment is the written Word of God. The church knows nothing of the intuitions of reason, or the deductions of philosophy, except those reproduced in the sacred canon. She has a positive constitution in the Holy Scriptures, and has no right to utter a single syllable upon any subject, except as the Lord puts it into her mouth. She is founded, in other words, on express *revelation*. The question, then, is brought within a narrow compass: Do the Scriptures, directly or indirectly, condemn slavery as a sin? If they do not, the dispute is ended, for the church, without forfeiting her character, dares not go beyond them. Now, we venture to assert that if men had drawn their conclusions upon the subject only from the Bible, it would no more have entered into any human head to denounce slavery as a sin, than to denounce monarchy, aristocracy, or poverty. The truth is, men have listened to what they falsely considered as primitive intuitions, or as necessary

deductions from primitive cognitions, and then have gone to the Bible to confirm the crotchets of their vain philosophy.

We have assumed no new attitude. We stand where the Church of God has always stood, from Abraham to Moses, from Moses to Christ, from Christ to the Reformers, and from the Reformers to ourselves. We stand upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles, Jesus Christ himself being the chief cornerstone. Shall we be excluded from the fellowship of our brethren in other lands because we dare not depart from the Charter of our faith? Shall we be branded with the stigma of reproach because we cannot consent to corrupt the Word of God to suit the intuition of an infidel philosophy? Shall our names be pointed out as evil and the finger of scorn be pointed at us because we utterly refuse to break our communion with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, with Moses, David, and Isaiah, with apostles, prophets, and martyrs, with all the noble army of confessors who have gone to glory from slaveholding countries and from a slaveholding church without ever dreaming that they had lived in mortal sin by conniving at slavery in the midst of them? Others, if they please, may spend their time in declaiming on the tyranny of earthly masters; it will be our aim to resist the real tyrants which oppress the soul—Sin and Satan. These are the foes against whom we shall find it employment enough to wage a successful war—and to this holy war it is the purpose of our church to devote itself with redoubled energy. We feel that the souls of our slaves are a solemn trust, and we shall strive to present them faultless before the presence of God.

Indeed, as we contemplate their condition in the Southern States and contrast it with that of their fathers before them, and that of their brethren in the present day in their native land, we cannot but accept it as a gracious Providence that they have been brought in such numbers to our shores, and redeemed from the bondage of barbarism and sin. Slavery to them has certainly been overruled for the greatest good. . . .

As to the endless declamations about human rights, we have only to say that human rights are not a fixed, but a fluctuating quantity. Their sum is not the same in any two nations on the globe. The rights of Englishmen are one thing, the rights of Frenchmen another. There is a minimum without which a man cannot be responsible; there is a maximum which expresses the highest degree of civilization and of Christian culture. The education of the species consists in its ascent along this line. Now when it is said that slavery is inconsistent with human rights, we crave to understand what point in this line is the slave conceived to occupy. There are, no doubt, many rights which belong to other men—to Englishmen, to Frenchmen, to his master, for example—which are denied to him. But is he fit to possess them? Has God qualified him to meet the responsibilities which their possession necessarily implies? His place in the scale is determined by his competency to fulfill its duties. There are other rights which he certainly possesses, without which he could be neither human nor accountable. Before slavery can be charged with doing him injustice it must be shown that the

minimum which falls to his lot at the bottom of the line is out of proportion to his capacity and culture—a thing which can never be done by abstract speculation.

To avoid the suspicion of conscious weakness of our cause when contemplated from the side of pure speculation, we advert for a moment to those pretended intuitions which stamp the reprobation of humanity upon this ancient and hoary institution. We admit that there are primitive principles of morals which lie at the root of human consciousness. But the question is, how are we to distinguish them? The subjective feeling of certainty is no adequate criterion, as it is equally felt in reference to crotchets and hereditary prejudices. The very point is to know when this certainty indicates a primitive cognition, and when it does not. There must, therefore, be some eternal test, and whatever cannot abide that test has no authority as a primary truth. That test is an inward necessity of thought, which in all minds at the proper stage of maturity is absolutely universal. Whatever is universal is natural. We are willing that slavery should be tried by this standard. We are willing to abide by the testimony of the race, and if man, as man, has everywhere condemned it—if all human laws have prohibited it as a crime—if it stands in the same category with malice, murder, and theft—then we are willing, in the name of humanity, to renounce it, and to renounce it forever. But what if the overwhelming majority of mankind have approved it? What if philosophers and statesmen have justified it, and the laws of all nations acknowledged it—what then becomes of these luminous intuitions? They are an *ignis fatuus*, mistaken for a star.

We have now, brethren, in a brief compass—for the nature of this address admits only an outline—opened to you our whole hearts upon this delicate and vexed subject. We have concealed nothing. We have sought to conciliate no sympathy by appeals to your charity. We have tried our cause by the Word of God; and though protesting against its authority to judge in a question concerning the duty of the church, we have not refused to appear at the tribunal of reason. Are we not right, in view of all the preceding considerations, in remitting the social, civil, and political problems connected with slavery in the state?

The ends which we propose to accomplish as a church are the same as those which are proposed by every other church. To proclaim God's truth as a witness to the nations; to gather his elect from the four corners of the earth; and, through the Word, ministries, and ordinances, to train them for eternal life—is the great business of his people. The only thing that will be at all peculiar to us is the manner in which we shall attempt to discharge our duty. In almost every department of labor, except the pastoral care of congregations, it has been usual for the church to resort to societies more or less closely connected with itself, and yet logically and really distinct. It is our purpose to rely upon the regular organs of our government, and executive agencies directly and immediately responsible to them. We wish to make the church not merely a superintendent, but an agent. We wish to develop

the idea that the congregation of believers, as visibly organized, is the very society or corporation which is divinely called to do the work of the Lord. We shall therefore endeavor to do what has never yet been adequately done —bring out the energies of our Presbyterian system of government. From the session to the Assembly we shall strive to enlist all of our courts, as courts, in the department of Christian effort. We are not ashamed to confess that we are intensely Presbyterian. We embrace all other denominations in the arms of Christian fellowship and love, but our own scheme of government we humbly believe to be according to the pattern shown in the mount, and, by God's grace, we propose to put its efficiency to the test.

Brethren, we have done. We have told you who we are, and what we are. We greet you in the ties of Christian brotherhood. We desire to cultivate peace and charity with all our fellow-Christians throughout the world. We invite to ecclesiastical communion all who maintain our principles of faith and order.

And now we commend you to God and the Word of his grace. We devoutly pray that the whole Catholic Church may be afresh baptized with the Holy Ghost, and that she may be speedily stirred up to give the Lord no rest until he establish and make Jerusalem a praise in the earth.[1]

The scene "which was enacted at the moment of the subscription of this letter will be forgotten," says an eloquent participant, "by none who witnessed it. Read, and read again, amid the solemn stillness of an audience whose emotions are hushed with awe, it was finally adopted and laid on the moderator's table; when, one by one, the members came silently forward and signed the instrument with their names. We were carried back to those stirring times in Scottish story when the Solemn League and Covenant was spread upon the gravestones at the Gray Friars' Churchyard, and Christian heroes pricked their veins, that with the red blood they might sign their allegiance to the kingdom and crown of Jesus Christ, their Lord and Head."[2]

The Distinctive Principles of the Church at First.— We have now passed in review the more important acts

[1] For this letter in full see "Minutes of 1861," pp. 51–60; Alexander's "Digest," pp. 369–380; "Distinctive Principles," pp. 6–25.

[2] Palmer's "Life of Thornwell," p.

of the Constituting Assembly. Observing the fabric set up as a completed whole, we may remark its distinctive principles, viz.: First, witnessing for the non-secular character of the church and the headship of Christ, or, in other words, for a strict adherence to the constitution. This explains the church's rise. This was the church's great and inspiring mission. Second, the complete organization of the church, obviating the necessity of boards and societies. The Southern Presbyterian Church is one of the most completely organized of all the churches of God. The church itself is its own home missionary society, its own foreign missionary society, its own education society, etc. It attends to the work itself which God gave it to do. Herein it has been a pattern not without effect to other churches. The mother-church from which the Southern Church came has wisely imitated to a certain degree the daughter, in turning her boards into virtual commissions.

The dignity of the constituting body of this first Assembly was very great. The writer of the "Address to the Churches of Jesus Christ throughout the Earth" was the luminary of the body—a mental and moral giant—but the Assembly was as a whole an able and godly body. A glance at the roll of commissioners shows that they were no mean men. Running down the roll of ministers, we find the names of Dr. John H. Bocock, Dr. Wm. H. Foote, Dr. Joseph R. Wilson, Dr. C. C. Jones, Dr. John N. Waddel, Dr. James A. Lyon, Dr. Drury Lacy, Dr. R. H. Morrison, Dr. J. Leighton Wilson, Dr. John B. Adger, Dr. D. McNeil Turner, Dr. Theodoric Pryor, Dr. Francis McFarland, Dr. James B. Ramsey. Among the elders we note the names of W. P. Webb, T. C. Perrin, W. L. Mitchell, Job Johnston, J. G. Sheppard, J. T. Swayne, J. D. Armstrong, Charles Phillips. Many other names of great

dignity and reputation might have been added to each of these lists. And these were no more than a fair sample of the Southern Church. The Synod of Virginia could have mustered an abler body than the one we have been considering.

Whether we look at the causes of the existence of the Presbyterian Church, South, at the perfection of her organization, at the orientation of herself in the theological cosmos, at her distinctive principles, or, in fine, at the dignity of her members, we are irresistibly led to a conviction of a surpassing excellence in her beginning, and prophesy thereof in her end.

CHAPTER III.

THE GROWTH OF THE CHURCH AND DEVELOPMENT OF HER AGENCIES TO THE PRESENT.

WE propose to set forth in this chapter the numerical increase of the church, and to account for the rapidity of this increase. We shall also illustrate the development of the various agencies of the church, including foreign missions, home missions in its various branches, education, and publication; explaining, as we may be able, the slow or rapid progress of each respectively, and remarking on any change of attitude of any particular agency toward the General Assembly. We shall then consider the general posture toward herself in which the General Assembly holds the agencies in common. Finally, on the ground of its connection with our subject by contrast, we shall advert to "voluntary societies" in the church.

The Numerical Increase of the Church.

In thirty-two years, the devastation and desolation of war and "reconstruction" to the contrary nevertheless, the Southern Presbyterian Church has much more than doubled itself. It has added three to the original number of Synods, there being thirteen at present. The number of its Presbyteries has gone up from 47 to 72, an increase of more than fifty per cent. of the original number. It has as many ministers as in 1861, and about eighty per cent. more, having now 1270; as many churches and one hundred and sixty per cent. more—the present number of

churches is 2652. There are two and a half times as many members as in 1861, and more. Its contributions to foreign missions and to home missions are at least four times as large, and it has kept pace in developing the other departments of church enterprise. The church has made this rapid advance in spite of the fact that between 1866 and 1870 it suffered a great exodus of its colored communicants, 10,000 perhaps, who betook themselves, for the most part, to the organizations which the Northern Presbyterian Church had begun to establish among the freedmen. It has made this growth in spite of most adverse financial and political conditions, and in a wide and sparsely settled territory, where there were no great centers of population, and which had suffered the spoliation of war. Few churches can show an equal growth. It is extraordinary. It may be justly claimed as one of the remarkable phenomena of modern church history. .

This growth, under the circumstances, eloquently illustrates the words of the Psalmist who cried out: "It is good for me that I have been afflicted, that I might learn thy statutes."[1]

But while acknowledging the blessing of affliction rightly received, we shall find it useful to inquire into the several proximate and specific causes of this rapid growth. These causes seem to be:

First, *the great œsophageal porrections* of our church in the presence of any ecclesiastical minnows which may be assimilated into good strict Presbyterians. The Presbyterian Church, South, has absorbed into ecclesiastical union with herself a good many smaller bodies which once occupied more or less of her present territory, viz.: the Independent Presbyterian Church (1863), the United Synod of the South (1864), the Presbytery of Patapsco (1867),

[1] Psalm cxix. 72.

the Alabama Presbytery of the Associate Reformed Church about the same time, the Synod of Kentucky (1869), the Associated Reformed Presbytery of Kentucky (1870), and the Synod of Missouri (1874). The union with these churches brought in about 282 ministers, 490 or more churches, and 35,600 communicants. Thus is explained in part the church's rapid growth.

Second, the *energetic use of the evangelistic arm* of the church's service. The Southern Presbyterian Church is not unfrequently stigmatized as "orthodox." She undoubtedly holds to a strong and thorough-going Calvinism and to a rather "high church" Presbyterianism. In the later thirties of this century the Old School party won the victory over the New School only by virtue of an almost "solid South." And since the division of the Old School in 1861 the Southern Church is supposed to have strengthened in her Calvinism, and in her tendency toward a belief in a *jure divino* form of church government, rather than to have either declined or stood still. She does not object to being regarded as orthodox in the sense of steadfastly upholding her well-known constitution. On the contrary, she delights in the characterization.

But "orthodoxy" and deadness of spiritual life have often been conjoined in history—so often as to have produced the current impression that one must look for a dead church in one that makes the claim of being orthodox. The impression, however, is very superficial. If there is any power, by its beauty, purity, charm, and magnetism, in truth to quicken, attract, sanctify, hold, and consecrate, then as "orthodoxy" approaches the truth, contrary to this shallow supposition as to the connection between "orthodoxy" and "deadness," we expect the truly orthodox church to be first in its power to win

to genuine Christianity all over whom the truth has any power.

Whether the Southern Presbyterian Church is truly orthodox it is not our present concern to settle. Her well-wishers have the pleasure of reflecting that her "orthodoxy" is in no sense stifling. She has shown an evangelical power which to-day is making her, in spite of her modest dimensions, one of the observed of American churches.

The Assembly of 1866 enjoined upon every Presbytery "to seek out and set apart a minister to the work of the evangelist for its own bounds, to take the superintendence of its vacant congregations wherever practicable"; and wherever such a course should be impracticable, "to apportion such congregations among its ministerial members for the same object, so that every congregation and all freed people" should "enjoy the pastoral oversight of some minister in their assemblies."[1]

This injunction expresses the Assembly's attitude, in general, toward this department of church work, maintained until the present. In 1886 the Assembly adopted a report emphasizing the importance of evangelistic work, and reminding the churches (*a*) "that Presbyterianism cannot accomplish its mission unless it become more aggressive; (*b*) that constant aggressiveness—in other words, preaching the gospel in the regions beyond—is one *great* mission of the church; that preaching the gospel to the poor is the distinguishing characteristic of the true church."[2]

The Presbyteries and churches, as they had ability and grace, responded to the Assembly's resolutions by striving to work them out in life. True, the church has never

[1] "Minutes of 1866," p. 36.
[2] "Minutes of the Assembly of 1886," p. 44.

been satisfied with the results secured in the way of effort; but handsome efforts have been put forth. If the Assembly's evangelistic enterprises have been allowed to languish, many of the Presbyteries and Synods have prosecuted presbyterial and synodical evangelization with great, if somewhat selfish, enthusiasm.

In 1881 the Synod of Kentucky entered upon what is now known as pioneer enterprise of synodical evangelism. Some individual Christians offered to make a liberal donation to home mission work within the bounds of that State, provided the churches of the State should raise a stipulated sum. This offer has been renewed, and the work kept up, from year to year. Recently not less than eight or ten Synods, led on by this example, have inaugurated some form of synodical work.[1]

The various evangelistic efforts, backed some in one way, some in another, have not always co-worked without friction and to the satisfaction of the whole church. It does not fall within the scope of our present purpose to discuss at this point the relative propriety of these several forms of effort. That will come later. Here we have but to observe that in "every way Christ is preached," and the church grows.

Third, *faithful effort on the part of the pastor and people*. Where an army does anything toward the permanent occupation of a hostile country, there must be something more than skirmishes of the advance guard along the few lines of its approach. The real battle occurs later, when the great hosts have come up face to face with one another. The invaders *then* must overwhelm their foes, and must seize and man the citadels of the land. Even then the war is not over. The Philistines may arise at any moment. Israel secures her quiet only at the price of eternal

[1] "Report of Executive Committee of Home Missions of 1893," p. 11.

vigilance. The sort of advance the Southern Presbyterian Church has made is the best possible testimonial to the common watchfulness and fidelity of the whole church. The great majority of her members, under the guidance of her ministers and preachers, have been faithful, and in their measure efficient. The preachers have done their duty nobly in proclaiming the needs, and the poverty of the people has abounded unto the riches of their liberality.

The truth of this assertion will be illustrated with tolerable fullness in the remaining part of this chapter, which is devoted to setting forth the development of the church's several agencies. Anticipating its establishment, we behold in the fact one of the causes, under God, of the rapid numerical increase of the Southern Presbyterian Church.

1. *Foreign Missions.*

The large place given to foreign missions in the heart and work of the church at the time of her organization—at a time when there seemed next to no possibility, owing to the barriers of war, of doing any foreign mission work except among the Indians of the Southwest—has been remarked upon and admired for its heroism of faith and singular devotion to our Lord's last command. Special attention was called, moreover, to the nature of the agency which the church then created to carry out this most important of church enterprises. Under the control of natural sagacity the committee and missionaries did their work without the aid of a formal interpretation of the committee's constitutional powers and the missionaries' relations until 1877. But by that time the missionaries had become much more numerous, and there was need of such an interpretation. The Assembly of 1877 adopted a manual for the use of missionaries and missionary candidates.

Certain excerpts from the more important sections of this manual will repay the reader's attention. They are as follows:

The Executive Committee.—The committee, in virtue of authority conferred upon it by the General Assembly, directs and superintends the missionary work in all departments, but exercises no ecclesiastical functions. It may, however, give friendly advice to missionaries in relation to church matters when requested to do so. It appoints missionaries and assistant missionaries; determines their fields of labor; fixes their salaries; determines their particular employments; and may transfer a missionary from one department of labor to another, having due regard, however, to the views and feelings of the missionary himself in all these matters. The committee may recall a missionary for incompetence, for neglect of duty, for disobedience to instructions, or for disorderly conduct. The missionary, however, in case he feels aggrieved, has the right to appeal to the General Assembly, to which the missionary and the Executive Committee are alike responsible.

Missionaries.—The missionary is regarded in the light of an evangelist in the Scriptural sense of the term. . . . His business is to preach the gospel; to found churches; to aid in forming Presbyteries, when the native churches are prepared for such; to translate the Word of God when necessary; to train native preachers; and to do whatever else may be necessary to the promotion of evangelical religion. He may not become a settled pastor of a church, but shall establish native pastorates over all such churches as soon as suitable persons can be found, while he himself shall go on founding new churches wherever God's providence shall make it proper to do so. He may advise a church session, or may preside at its meetings when requested to do so, but he shall not have an authoritative voice in any of its proceedings. So he may aid in establishing a Presbytery, when the native churches are prepared for it; he may, upon invitation, sit as a corresponding member in the Presbytery and give advice; but he is not to be regarded as a member, or to exercise any of the rights of one, but retains his connection with his Presbytery at home.

Assistant Missionaries.—This term is applied indifferently to laymen sent out as teachers, to missionary physicians, to unmarried ladies, and to the wives of missionaries. All these, save the wives of missionaries, are under the general direction of the mission.

The Mission.—At every central station there is a mission, technically so called—a sub-committee—acting in direct and constant communication with the Executive Committee of Missions. It is composed of all the missionaries and male assistant missionaries of the different stations. No native can be a member of it except by the appointment of the Executive Committee, on the recommendation of the mission. All members of the mission are expected to correspond freely with the home office; but in relation to

business matters, such as appropriation of funds, the establishment of schools, the formation of new stations, the return of missionaries, and the like, the correspondence shall be between the mission as such and the Executive Committee.

Qualifications for the Missionary Work.—As a general thing the same qualifications which will render a minister useful in the home field will make him equally so in the foreign. One who does not promise to be useful and efficient at home ought not for a moment to think of going abroad. The missionary ought to have an unimpaired physical constitution; good intellectual training; a reasonable facility for acquiring language; a sound judgment of men and things; versatility of gifts; tact and adaptation to men of all classes and circumstances; a cheerful, hopeful spirit; ability to work harmoniously with others; persistent energy in carrying out plans once formed; consecrated common sense—all controlled by single-heartedness, self-sacrificing devotion to Christ and his cause.

Support of Missionaries.—The salary allowed a missionary is not regarded in the light of a compensation for services rendered. The church, in the prosecution of the work, aims simply to enable the missionary to carry out with efficiency the desires of his own heart to preach the gospel to the unevangelized nations of the earth. She proposes, therefore, to give him what may be regarded as a comfortable but economical support—such a support as will free him from all anxious cares about his temporal comforts and enable him to give himself wholly to the work of the Lord.[1]

As appears from the third article of the constitution of the Executive Committee, but more clearly from the first of the above excerpts, the so-called Executive Committee is a commission rather than a committee.[2] It is empowered to take tentative courses on occasions of emergency, which must be considered and may be approved by the next Assembly, but which are in the interim backed by the power of the court constituting the commission. Just at present there is an agitation in the church as to whether certain functions, now exercised by this committee, should not rather be exercised by the Presbyteries and church sessions. It is affirmed by some that the present usage of our church, as well as of most others, in this particular, is unscriptural; that the Presbyteries should appoint and

[1] "Minutes of the Assembly of 1877," pp. 418 *et seq.*
[2] Compare Alexander's "Digest," p. 105.

direct the missionaries. This affirmation is incapable of proof. The only debatable ground is that of expediency. Whether the superintendence of missionaries is made the work of a lower or of a higher court depends on the constitutional definitions of the spheres of the several courts. Either court, being composed of elders of two coördinate classes, is a Scriptural body. Before the constitution of the church has defined and restricted the rights of the several courts, the Assembly is Scripturally competent to exercise the functions which have been actually assigned to its committee, and assigned to it in the constitution. But the agitation has been so earnest, and by men of such ability and prominence, that the second Macon Assembly (1893) has appointed "an *ad interim* committee to investigate the entire matter, and report to the next General Assembly . . . as to the expediency of transferring any functions from the Executive Committee to the Presbyteries and church sessions." This committee is assigned the further task of seeing whether, in their judgment, any modification should be made in the present method of administration in this part of the church's work, and whether any amendment should be made, and if so, what, to the present manual.[1]

The size of the Executive Committee, originally *eleven*, was by the Assembly of 1888, owing to some quirk, enlarged to fifteen. The Assembly of 1889 reduced it again to eleven. This number is large enough for counsel. It secures a greater sense of individual responsibility than the larger number.[2]

1 "Minutes of the Assembly of 1893," p. 42.

2 The location of the committee was at first at Columbia, S. C. In 1875 it was removed to Baltimore. In 1889 it was carried to Nashville. The reason for the transference to Baltimore was that the committee might be afforded the larger facilities of a commercial and financial center. An unhappy local friction was the occasion of the removal to Nashville.

The secretaries of this committee have been able men.[1] Dr. Wilson was a man of massive virtues, profound sagacity, practical methods, great executive ability, fruitful piety, and marked consecration to the cause of missions. Dr. McIlwaine, as secretary, was characterized by the practical good sense, the earnestness, and the ability to accomplish his ends which have marked him in every relation in which the providence of God has placed him. But the Napoleon of foreign missions thus far in this church has been Dr. Houston. In mental endowment, in iron persistency, in the spirit of "this one thing I do," in a sense of the sublime importance of the work of foreign missions, in a contagious enthusiasm for it, as well as in nearly all the essentials of the executive officer, he is behind no secretary of foreign missions that we know anything of. He may have failed in a few instances to meet with tact the wills of advisers scarcely less imperious than his own; he may have somewhat of the prelate in him; but no man can deny that like a skillful general he has marshaled the hosts among whom God has placed him. That the church is getting into the very first rank of foreign mission workers is due in part to this fragile-looking, high-headed, long-faced, iron-jawed man.

Nevertheless, we would not forget that the missionary zeal exhibited arose not primarily from the secretaries, but from the church. The secretaries were of the church, and its exponents. The church has been from the beginning a missionary church. We have seen that it was in 1861.

[1] The Rev. J. Leighton Wilson, D.D., was secretary 1861–85, and secretary *emeritus* 1885–87, Rev. R. McIlwaine having been coördinate secretary 1872–82. M. H. Houston, D.D., was secretary 1884–93. The Rev. H. M. Woods was elected by the Assembly of 1893 to this post of supreme command of the aggressive forces of our church. Dr. Woods has refused to accept the election, however.

In 1862 the Assembly renewed the recommendation "for a concert of prayer, to be held on the first Sabbath of each month, in all our churches, for the Lord's blessing on the cause of missions, and that contributions be made at those meetings whenever expedient."[1] This recommendation in substance has been renewed from year to year, and kindred ones added: such as that in the public services of the church prayer be regularly made for all men,[2] and missionary intelligence be diffused and missionary motives be enforced by the Executive Committee, by pastors, by Sabbath-school superintendents and teachers.[3] In 1867 the Executive Committee was authorized to publish a monthly missionary paper for gratuitous distribution to the ministers and Sabbath-school superintendents. This paper has been fostered carefully by the Assembly from that time to the present. It has grown to be a self-supporting paper of unusual merit. Its circulation on April 1, 1893, was 9250.[4] It is doing incalculable good to the cause of missions.

The Assembly of 1884 recommended to the faculties of the theological seminaries "that in some way they seek to beget and foster among the students a lively interest in foreign missions."[5] This recommendation has been repeated, as by the Assembly of 1890, which recommended further "that the question of the duty of enlisting personally in the missionary service abroad be pressed on the attention, not only of theological students, but of our pastors and consecrated members."[6] The Assembly of 1882 resolved that it "advise the Presbyteries to devote one

1 "Minutes of the Assembly of 1862," p. 10.
2 "Minutes of 1891," p. 237.
3 "Minutes of 1874," p. 418; 1884, p. 212; 1887, p. 242.
4 "Annual Report of Executive Committee of 1891," p. 5.
5 "Minutes of 1884," p. 272.
6 "Minutes of the Assembly of 1890," p. 32, part iii.

evening during the spring session, or such other hour as may be convenient, to the general discussion of foreign missions in the presence of the congregation among whom they meet."[1] And since 1867 the Assembly itself has devoted an evening of each session to a discussion of this great enterprise. In all these ways the Assembly has tried to excite an intelligent interest on the subject, and thus occasion larger efforts on the part of the rank and file of the church.

Furthermore, the Assembly has tried to elicit larger gifts by encouraging the formation of congregational missionary societies, ladies', young men's, and children's,[2] and at times by specifying, through her committee, objects for which individual churches might contribute.[3] She has once and again empowered her Executive Committee to make, during defined periods, special appeals for free-will offerings.[4]

Nor has the church made an ignoble response to these efforts by her highest courts. In poverty at the start, in relative poverty now, her people, ever cramped by financial stresses, have yet abounded in their liberality. During the later years of the ninth decade individual churches in considerable numbers undertook the support of one or more missionaries. Some of the congregations which did this had been, as they supposed, unable to give more than the meagerest support to their own pastor. But the Lord enlarged them. Nor have the people been slow in offering themselves as compared with other churches. Pastors, young and middle-aged, candidates for the ministry, consecrated laymen, and ladies, have, as a rule, responded to the calls as fast as made.

The church's missionary zeal has manifested itself fur-

[1] "Minutes of 1882," p. 546.
[2] "Minutes of 1873," p. 365; 1785, p. 37; 1878, p. 619; 1892, p. 446.
[3] "Minutes of 1884," p. 262. [4] "Minutes of 1886," p. 35.

ther in a disposition to scrutinize closely the work of missionaries.[1] The courts of the church have shown this disposition, and the people themselves, to a pleasing degree. One of the common topics of discussion in the Presbyterian home of late years is as to the best method of foreign mission work—the place of the school in foreign mission work, the place of the native Christian worker, the relation which the missionary should sustain to the native Christians, the relation of the church, when set up in the regions beyond, to the home church, whether it should be autonomous or not.

To say the least, the growing zeal of the church in missions has not been retarded by the lives of the missionaries. On the contrary, one of the things which has helped to fan missionary zeal to a flame is the conduct and lives of the noble bands of missionaries who have gone out from the church. Mistakes have been made in sending out missionaries. In rare cases an unworthy man has been sent; some have gone who had little to commend them but an earnest spirit of service; but as a rule the men sent have been a credit to the church. Such men as Lane and Boyle in Brazil, as Houston, Johnson, Davis in China, as Lapsley in Africa, and dozens of others in these countries, have been, and will continue to be, an inspiration to, and provocative of, missionary effort in the home church. Their difficult and lonely duties have been performed with fidelity and ability, and generally with gratifying results.

The church has planted stations in China, Italy, the United States of Colombia, Brazil, Mexico, Greece, Japan, the Congo Free State, Cuba, and Corea, as well as among the Indians. She counted at the end of the ecclesiastical year April 31, 1892, to April 31, 1893, 34 missionaries in China, 22 in Brazil, 8 in Mexico, 21 in Japan, 7 in Africa, 7 in

[1] "Minutes of 1883," p. 32.

Corea, 2 in Cuba, and 1 in Italy. A good many have been sent out since.[1] As a result of missionary effort, the church can now look upon about 2000 communicants, many hundreds of young people receiving Christian instruction, many native teachers, preachers, etc., at work among their people, spreading the light of the glorious gospel of God, an immeasurable influence on the heathen world, predisposing it to hear Christianity as it is. The results in either Mexico or Japan are enough to justify all the efforts which the church has put forth in behalf of missions.

Nevertheless, the great law of its propagation laid down in Acts i. 8 has not been sufficiently followed by the church in its mission work. That law is: *The church shall in its propagandism seek to witness where its witnessing will result in the most efficient additions to the army of witness-bearers for Christ.* We look back with joy on the spirit of missions by which the church has been characterized, but cannot fail to remark that it has lacked an adequate knowledge of the religious conditions of the world so as to know where best to push its witness for Christ. It made a fiasco in the United States of Colombia. It failed to sufficiently concentrate on Japan when Japan was openest to the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ—let the opportunity of centuries slip. Often the church in its mission work has displayed zeal with only limited knowledge. It has struck about like blind Samson, whereas, looking equally to God, it should have used its eyes. The demand which God makes of the church for intelligent effort—a knowledge of the field where present missionary effort will be most effective, and for work there—is one that only the

[1] The China Mission was established in 1866; that to the United States of Colombia existed from 1866 to 1877; that to Italy was established in 1867; that to Brazil, in 1868; that to Mexico, in 1874; that to Greece, in 1874; that to Japan, in 1886; that to the Congo Free State, in 1890; that to Cuba, in 1890; that to Corea, in 1892.

superficial can deny. Yet the church has not been wide awake to the demand. Again, our church courts have given too great a play to voluntaryism in missions in determining who should go. It is easy enough to see this in looking over the list of missionaries sent out. The church should pick her men as the early church did—pick them on account of special fitness for the work.

To a greater growth of missionary effort the church needs the Holy Ghost, of course, *and the truth in the heart and the soul of the church, and moving the church* —the truth as to the nature and destiny of unregenerate man, and that Jesus can and will save.

It is worthy of special remark that the church, at the suggestion of the Pan-Presbyterian Council, has for a number of years been employing active measures to bring about all proper coöperation with other Presbyterian bodies of sound faith in the mission field. In particular, a plan of coöperation with the Northern Church in foreign missions was agreed on by the Assembly of 1893, according to which, in schools, theological seminaries, and evangelistic work, the two churches are to work in closest concert and harmony. The missionaries of several Presbyterian churches, including these two, had for years been in virtual coöperation.[1]

This movement is a correct one, though attended by some dangers. Witnessing loses its power when it loses its distinctness.

2. *Home Missions.*

We have already shown how before its organization, during the interregnum, the work of this committee was carried on by the Southwestern Advisory Committee; and we have indicated the scope of the work and the con-

[1] See "Report of Executive Committee of 1893," pp. 10, 11.

stitution of the agency as erected by the Assembly of 1861, under the title of "The Committee of Domestic Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America."[1] We propose now to trace the growth and branching of this work to the present.

The Greater Constitutional Changes.—Let us look first at the greater constitutional changes in the agency. In 1865 the war left the bounds of the Southern Church filled with crippled and broken-down churches, "especially along the broad track of those desolating marches that were made through most of the central Southern States." The country had been reduced to savage poverty, sanctuaries had been broken down, and ministers—able ones—compelled to betake themselves to secular avocations to get bread. Moreover, emissaries from the conquering section were pouring in with a view to gathering her flocks into folds which they had not known.[2]

The church felt that she must rise and give herself to relieving the distress of her suffering members. The Assembly of 1865, accordingly, determined to raise a sustentation fund, and assigned this work to the Executive Committee of Domestic Missions, adding to the committee, moreover, a wide-awake man from each Synod, whose special duty it was to canvass his Synod, ascertain what churches were needing help, what ones were able to contribute, and to do all he could, by correspondence and visitation, to collect funds for this general object.[3]

The effort was successful. "The appointment of synodical commissioners to act in concert with the committee proved to be a wise and judicious measure. In no other way would it have been possible either to ascertain the condition and wants of the brethren, or to have distributed

[1] Chapter ii., pp. 340 ff. [2] "Minutes of 1865," p. 391.
[3] "Minutes of 1865," p. 391.

the funds in the hands of the committee in a just and equitable manner."[1]

In the meantime the cause of domestic missions proper had been coming on badly. Not one fifth of the churches during the year 1865–66 contributed anything to the cause, and nineteen twentieths of the funds which came to the hands of the Executive Committee came specially designated to the cause of sustentation. The prostration of the country explained in part the small contributions, but there were other causes. The Executive Committee occupied an anomalous position in the minds of most of the church-members. Some regarded it as a mere financial agency, whose special province it was "to gather up the surplus funds of the wealthier churches and Presbyteries, and apply them to the weaker Presbyteries and destitute regions of the country."[2] Others, again, regarded the committee as combining in itself both ecclesiastical and financial functions, "as a complete and sufficient instrumentality for carrying on the work of domestic missions."[3] Further, the church felt that, in her peculiar circumstances, she scarcely had any need, then, of a Committee of Domestic Missions, regarding that committee in the light of an evangelistic, aggressive agency. The whole field was covered with Presbyteries, the best agents that can be em-

[1] "Executive Committee's Report of 1866," p. 44.

[2] "Minutes of 1866," p. 49.

[3] The constitution of the committee had clothed it with powers too large —the rights of the Presbytery were trenched upon. Article III. reads: "It shall be the duty of the Executive Committee to take the direction and control of the domestic missionary work, subject to such instructions as may be given by the General Assembly from time to time; to appoint missionaries and evangelists for the field of labor" (*sic*) "and to provide for their support, and to aid feeble churches, and to do whatever else may be necessary for the advancement of domestic missionary work; and that in the discharge of its duties the committee act in concert and harmony with the Presbyteries and churches; that the committee authorize all appropriations and expenditures of money, including the salaries of their officers."—"Minutes of the Assembly of 1866," p. 20.

ployed in carrying on missionary work in their own bounds, certainly so far as ecclesiastical control is concerned. The church did feel, on the other hand, an urgent need of her Sustentation Committee. Her work for the time was not so much to establish new churches as to repair old ones. Jerusalem had to rebuild her own walls before she could dwell in safety and repossess the land.

As a natural sequence of this condition of affairs, the Assembly of 1866, in response to an overture from Dr. J. Leighton Wilson, setting forth reasons, the chief of which we have given above, why the Committee of Domestic Missions should be abolished and a Committee of Sustentation be appointed in its place, did substantially what Dr. Wilson overtured.[1]

A glance over the constitution of the Committee of Sustentation shows that the new committee differs from the old in having no ecclesiastical functions[2] save in respect to the missionaries who may be set to work beyond the

[1] For overture, see "Minutes of 1866," pp. 49–52.

[2] The preamble to the resolution which contains the constitution of the Committee of Sustentation asserts: "To the Presbytery it belongs to ordain and commission ministers of the gospel, to commit to them the oversight of the particular congregations, upon the call of the people, and to appoint them, with their own consent, to fields of missionary labor. It is also the province of the Presbytery to determine what part of its territory is to be regarded as missionary ground, and what churches ought to receive assistance in maintaining their pastors, or in erecting houses of worship. It is the duty of the Presbytery to superintend the work of its missionaries, to receive their report, and to the Presbytery alone are they responsible, in the first instance, under God, for the faithful discharge of their duties. It is therefore incumbent on the Presbyteries to provide for the worldly maintenance of the Lord's ministers. . . . And inasmuch as there is a great inequality in the strength and resources of the different Presbyteries, and because, according to the law of the life of the church, it is the imperative duty of the strong to aid the weak, in order that the healthful vigor of the whole body may be preserved, it becomes necessary to have some central agency, through which the vital current of the church's life may flow in due proportion to every part, and that all the energy, zeal, and resources of the church may be combined in the prosecution of its most important work. This is the office of the General Assembly, but it can only be practically fulfilled through a committee."—"Minutes of 1866," pp. 27 ff.

bounds of any Presbytery, in putting sustentation as its first object, and defining more specifically the purposes of the agency. No object of the Committee of Domestic Missions is forgotten in the construction of the Committee of Sustentation. The year following its establishment the Executive Committee asserted in its annual report that four general objects or departments of labor were regarded as included in the general plan of Sustentation: "1. To aid feeble churches in support of their pastors and supplies, and thus accomplish the twofold object of maintaining the stated preaching of the gospel in all these churches, and at the same time secure a competency for every laboring minister throughout the church. . . . 2. To aid in the support of missionaries and evangelists wherever such aid is asked. 3. To assist in building and repairing church edifices wherever the people have not the means of themselves to do it. 4. To assist missionaries or ministerial laborers in getting from one field to another, where they are without the means of doing this of themselves."[1] But while no object of the Committee of Domestic Missions is forgotten, the name of the new committee, the frame of its constitution, as well as the second of its by-laws sanctioned by the Assembly of 1867, and which reads: "The committee shall always appropriate specifically to the different objects presented by the Presbyterial Committee of Missions; and unless a preference is expressed to the contrary, it will always give the precedence to applications in behalf of the feeble churches"[2]—all show that the work of the committee was chiefly to uphold the crushed and broken churches.

The Invalid Fund.—But this committee was a living branch of a living tree; it was to grow and branch itself. One of the first branches of the work to develop itself

[1] "Minutes of 1867," pp. 155, 156. [2] "Minutes of 1867," p. 159.

was the Invalid Fund. As far back as 1863 an elaborate overture, urging the Assembly to provide a fund for the relief of superannuated and disabled ministers and their families, was introduced, with the result that a committee was appointed to consider the whole subject, and report to the next General Assembly. No practical measures seem to have resulted from this effort.

In 1867 aid was asked of the Assembly for the family of a minister of the church, recently deceased; and the Assembly authorized the Committee of Sustentation to "appropriate five per cent. of all contributions to its objects to the relief of destitute widows and children of ministers, and indigent ministers in infirm health, provided no such per cent. be appropriated from the contribution of any church or person prohibiting such appropriation, and provided further that this plan of operation shall not continue longer than the meeting of the Assembly for the year 1869."[1]

This was a merely temporary device. In 1868, "in lieu of the appropriation of five per cent. of the Sustentation Fund," the Assembly enjoined upon the Presbyteries to have a collection taken up in all the churches under their care for a relief fund which should be devoted to the relief of disabled ministers, and of widows and orphans of deceased ministers. These collections were to be forwarded to the treasurer of Sustentation, and disbursed according to the discretion of the committee, upon application made through the Presbyterial Standing Committees on Domestic Missions.[2] The Executive Committee was to have no power to make appropriations except they should be first recommended by the Presbyterial Committee. This scheme remains in vogue.

The Evangelistic Work.—The Assembly of 1873 deter-

[1] "Minutes of 1867," p. 148. [2] "Minutes of 1868," p. 274.

mined that the sustentation and evangelistic work should be conducted separately after January, 1874. This arm of the Assembly's work up to 1873 was regarded as having been a failure. Contributions had been small. Nor is it a matter of wonder—the church had been in the gripe of Titanic poverty. It was hoped that the contributions would be increased by separating the evangelistic work. To a limited extent these hopes were realized, but the contributions to this cause of the Assembly have never been large.

As the years have gone by an increasing number of the Presbyteries and many of the Synods have preferred to handle the funds for their evangelists themselves. Hence, while the church has of late been extraordinarily active in evangelization in the home territory, the Assembly's committee has done but little relatively in the work. It should be observed here, however, that the Assembly's plan is the better one. The plan of independent synodical and presbyterial work appeals more to selfish emulation, synodical and presbyterial ambition. It causes expenditures often where there is no sufficient promise, and non-expenditure in fresh fields, full of promise, in our newer and weaker Synods. It is independent rather than presbyterian in tendency, weakening to the common life of the great body.

In keeping with the projection to the front of the Executive Committee's functions in reference to evangelization was the change of the committee's name, in 1879, to "Executive Committee of Home Missions." This change suited the aspiration of the committee with reference to the church's future. Furthermore, the people found it hard to understand the meaning of "sustentation" as applied to the work of the committee, while they were at once attracted to the word "missions," and would readily

comprehend and fall in with the idea expressed by it.[1] Albeit the name of the committee was changed, the functions remained the same, saving the fact that the evangelizing functions had greater relative emphasis.

The Colored Evangelistic Fund.—The next branch of this agency to receive specific development was the Colored Evangelistic Fund, in 1886. We have seen that in the Assembly of 1861 missionary operations among the colored people were especially enjoined upon the Committee of Domestic Missions, the Presbyteries also being exhorted to coöperate with the committee in securing pastors and missionaries for this field. In 1865 the Assembly formed the first of a series of plans for the instruction of the freedmen. The prevailing sentiment in that Assembly was in favor of a united church life for the two peoples, though even so early the plan of separate congregations was contemplated as a possibility. In answer to an overture as to the course to be pursued toward the colored people, the Assembly resolved:

> That whereas experience has invariably proved the advantages of the colored people and the white being united together in the worship of God, we see no reason why it should be otherwise now that they are freedmen and not slaves. Should our colored friends think it best to separate from us, and organize themselves into distinct congregations under white pastors and elders, for the present, or under colored elders and pastors as soon as God in his providence shall raise up men suitably qualified for those offices, this church will do all in its power to encourage, foster, and assist them.[2]

In 1867 the Assembly, after expressing the fear that the current condition of the colored race was one of alarming spiritual jeopardy, its sincere affection for these people, and its sense of responsibility to do all in its power to save them from the calamities with which they were threatened, resolved:

[1] "Report of Executive Committee," 1887, pp. 7, 8.
[2] "Minutes of 1865," p. 370.

That, in the judgment of the Assembly, it is highly inexpedient that there should be any ecclesiastical separation of the white and colored races; that such a measure would threaten evil to both races, and especially to the colored, and that, therefore, it is desirable that every warrantable effort be made affectionately to dissuade the freed people from severing their connection with our churches, and to retain them with us as of old. Should they decline this fellowship of ordinances, and desire a separate organization, then our sessions are authorized to organize them into branch congregations.

In such cases the Assembly recommends that such congregations shall be allowed, under the sanction of the sessions, to elect from among themselves, every year, such number of superintendents or watchmen as the session may advise, who shall be charged with the oversight of such congregations. These superintendents shall report to the sessions, for their action, all matters relating to the said congregations.

Whenever Presbyteries may find it necessary to organize separate colored congregations, they shall appoint a commission of elders, who shall discharge the functions committed to the sessions in the preceding resolution.

That while nothing in our Standards or the Word of God prohibits the introduction to the gospel ministry of duly qualified persons of any race, yet difficulties arise in the general structure of society, and from providential causes, which may and should restrain the application of this abstract principle. Holding this in view, the Assembly recommends that wherever the session or Presbytery shall find a colored person who possesses suitable qualifications, they shall be authorized to license him to labor as exhorter among the colored people, under the supervision of the body appointing him.[1]

The burden here was evidently too heavy for the Assembly. It had a bad case of the blind staggers. The church was stronger than the Assembly of 1866. Accordingly, the Synod of Virginia and Presbytery of Mississippi each overtured the next Assembly, proposing such a modification of the action of the Assembly of 1866 on the relation of the church to the colored people as should "authorize the Presbyteries, in the exercise of their discretion, to ordain to the gospel ministry and to organize into separate congregations duly qualified persons of the colored race, and so declare that mere race or color is not regarded as a bar to office or privileges in the Presbyterian

[1] "Minutes of 1866," pp. 35, 36. Dr. Girardeau was the author of this paper.

Church in the United States."[1] In response the Assembly resolved:

1. That resolutions of the last Assembly complained of should be revoked.

2. That inasmuch as, according to the constitution, the duty of admitting candidates to the office of the gospel ministry devolves solely on the Presbyteries, and that of electing elders and deacons solely on the congregations, all male persons of proper qualifications for such offices, of whatever race, color, or civil condition, must be admitted or elected by these authorities respectively, in accordance with the principles of our church government, and in the exercise of a sound Christian discretion.

3. That the Assembly declines, on the ground of constitutional incompetency, to make any declaration respecting the future ecclesiastical organization of such freedmen as may belong to our communion, believing that the responsibility as well as the course to be pursued devolves on these persons, who are both politically and ecclesiastically free as all others to serve God according to the dictates of their own consciences.

4. The Assembly earnestly enjoins on all our ministers and people to use all diligence in affectionate and discreet efforts for the spiritual benefit of the colored race within reach of their private and public ministrations, and to seek by all lawful means to introduce them into a permanent connection with our church; and for this purpose the Assembly recognizes the lawfulness of the measures such as have long been used in various portions of our church, contemplating the judicious selection of the more pious and intelligent persons among the colored communicants in suitable official capacities for the spiritual benefit of their own race.[2]

The Assembly of 1869 was somewhat retrogressive. It tried to formulate a general plan to be followed by all the Presbyteries in dealing with the negro. It resolved:

That separate colored churches might be established, the same to be united with adjacent white churches under a common pastorate; to be allowed to elect deacons and ruling elders; and to be represented in the upper courts by the pastors in charge of them and by the ruling elders in the white churches with which they would be thus associated, until they should be sufficiently educated to warrant their becoming independent; *Provided* that the colored people themselves would not oppose a change in their existing relations, and would consent to the foregoing arrangement.

It further resolved:

That suitable colored men should be employed to speak the word of exhortation to their people, under the direction of pastors and evangelists; that when colored candidates for the ministry should be able to stand the usual

[1] "Minutes of 1867," p. 145. [2] "Minutes of 1867," p. 45.

examination, Presbyteries might proceed to license them; and in event of these licentiates being qualified and desired to take charge of colored churches, Presbyteries might either ordain and install them over such churches, still holding their connection with us, or ordain and install them over such churches, with the understanding that they should thenceforward be ecclesiastically separated from us.[1]

This was an improvement over the paper of 1866 in that it does not trespass against the form of church polity to such an extent as the earlier paper did. But even the latter paper is faulty in this respect. What sort of elders are they who cannot represent the church in the Presbytery? While better than the paper of 1866, the resolutions of 1869 are not so good as those of 1867. That paper made the elder an elder, though he were black as ebony; and in respect to the separation into independent ecclesiastical organizations, it was solicitous for union, and held that if separation came it must come of the negro's own motion. The plan of 1869, however, was only tentative. It was not until the Assembly of 1874 that a definite policy, which remains till to-day, was adopted. It has been briefly stated thus: "*The Presbyterian Church, South, is resolved on the establishment and development of a separate, independent, self-sustaining Colored Presbyterian Church, ministered to by colored preachers of approved piety, and such training as shall best suit them for their actual life-work.*" [2]

The reasons for this resolve taken by the Assembly of 1874, and supported consistently since, were: the sentiment of the church, which has been moving steadily in this direction; a recognition of the natural instinct in the colored people, expressing itself in the desire for a separate organization; and the prospect of usefulness in assisting these people in the process of self-development.

[1] "Minutes of 1869," pp. 388, 389. This paper was by Dr. Girardeau.
[2] Phillips, "The Presbyterian Church and the Colored People," p. 3.

Toward the establishment of this independent Colored Presbyterian Church the Southern Presbyterian Church has proposed to give aid in the form of "sympathetic, practical counsel, liberal offerings of money, and training for their ministers."[1]

The Assembly of 1874 requested the Committee of Sustentation "to take into consideration the best method of providing training for the colored candidates for the ministry, and report thereupon to the next Assembly." It asked the Presbyteries to institute measures for their instruction, and in other ways to push the work among the negroes. And it established the Colored Evangelistic Fund for the "sustentation of weak colored churches and for evangelistic work among the negroes." This fund was put into the hands of the Committee of Sustentation for its administration.[2]

The committee had previously made contributions for the work among the colored people. But more prominence was given this department of work in 1874. The Assembly of 1879 gave the committee the right to appropriate for this purpose, according to its discretion.[3] In 1886 the Assembly made an effort to secure increased contributions for the cause by ordering an annual collection in all the churches, on the first Sabbath in December, for the evangelization of the colored race, instead of for the Tuscaloosa Institute, as had been the custom since 1877. The funds secured from this collection were to be applied, first, for supporting the Tuscaloosa Institute, and second, in carrying on evangelization among the colored people.

The Executive Committee of Home Missions continued in charge of colored evangelization until 1891, when the

[1] Phillips, "The Presbyterian Church and the Colored People," p. 9.
[2] "Minutes of 1874," pp. 576 ff. [3] "Minutes of 1879," p. 51.

Executive Committee of Colored Evangelization was organized. The treasurer of the Home Mission Committee still acts as treasurer of the Colored Evangelization Fund; but in other respects the parent committee has been relieved of the official care of the negroes.

At the time of the formation of the new committee, four Presbyteries,[1] composed entirely of African ministers and churches, existed in kindly relations toward the mother-church, and asked such aid as that church could give in the work undertaken. The efficient and devoted secretary of the Committee of Colored Evangelization is the Rev. A. L. Phillips.

The Church Erection and Loan Fund.—The Committee of Home Missions was destined to shoot out yet another branch, viz., "The Church Erection and Loan Fund." This fund is intended to help feeble organizations to a church home. From the start the Committee of Sustentation had given such help as it could. In 1885 the Assembly authorized the Executive Committee of Home Missions to make loans to congregations in aid of Church Erection, which loans were to become debts of honor, without interest, to be paid back in instalments, running from one to five years. In 1888 the Assembly ordered the establishment of a separate fund for Church Erection, and the committee directed the treasurer to transfer the Loan Fund account to the Church Erection account. The two funds were consolidated. This fund is growing. The cause is popular. The fund is needed that small organizations gathered by the evangelists may be housed and

[1] "One of these, the Presbytery of North and South Carolina, had been formed for a number of years. It had five ministers, one licentiate, and eleven churches, and four hundred and ninety-two communicants. Another, the Presbytery of Texas, organized in 1888, had seven ministers, two licentiates, and seven weak churches. Two other Presbyteries, Ethel and Central, were formed in 1890 and 1891. They were smaller."—"Report of Executive Committee of Home Missions of 1891," p. 9.

saved. A considerable proportion of the Presbyteries contribute to, and use of, the fund. The Executive Committee of Home Missions has, therefore, to-day, five different funds under its management: the Church Erection and Loan Funds, the Sustentation, the Evangelistic and Indian Missions, the Invalid, and the Colored Evangelistic Fund.[1]

Having looked at these great constitutional developments in the agency, we propose now to glance at *some of the more important incidental objects which have engaged the attention of this committee* in the course of its history. One of the first of these in time, as well as importance, was *supplying the armies of the Confederacy with chaplains*. The committee's heroic exertions in this direction were in part the cause, so far as man can be cause of such a thing, of the twelve thousand hopeful conversions in the Confederate armies during the year 1863–64, and almost as great a number the year following.[2]

The committee has performed the office, to a certain extent, of an intermediary between vacant churches and unemployed ministers. It has given aid to organizations laboring in behalf of seamen. It has tried to raise the minimum salary of the great body of underpaid pastors, etc.

We now turn to look at the sort of encouragement which the church at large has given to the work of the committee. The Assemblies' course toward the committee has been one of undeviating encouragement, even in the department of evangelization. The Assembly of 1871 instructed the Presbyteries to institute and provide for a visitation of all its churches by commissions of ministers and ruling elders, "to see how each of them stands in relation to this matter," and to exhort those who had coöper-

[1] The last in a limited sense already explained.
[2] "Minutes of 1864," pp. 315 ff.

ated before with the Sustentation cause to a still larger effort on its behalf.[1] And this is but a fair specimen of the efforts which have been made in behalf of those several branches of the committee's work by the Assembly. The Presbyteries, on the other hand, did not comply to any considerable extent with the instructions of 1871, and generally have been disproportionately remiss in supporting the Evangelization Fund, while only tolerably faithful in supporting the work of the committee as a whole.

The arms of the great agency which we have been studying had often been exceedingly feeble, especially during the years immediately succeeding the war, except for aid from external sources. The historian would be remiss who should fail to remark on the help which friends in Kentucky, in Maryland, and in New York City extended to the Southern Church during her trying years under the political reconstruction of the country.

The Board of Aid for Southern Presbyterian Pastors, located at Louisville, Ky., informed the Assembly of 1865 that already $6000 had been collected for the purposes of the board in its projected work.[2] The Assembly was touched and deeply gratified at this manifestation of Christian sympathy on the part of the Kentucky brethren, and in the name of their common Master accepted their generous tender of aid. This was God's manna to the Southern Church. The Executive Committee was made agent for receiving and disbursing such aid as might be forwarded to them from the Kentucky source.[3]

According to the report of the Executive Committee of 1868,[4] of the sum received the preceding year for Sustentation $9190.73 had been contributed by Christian friends outside the church connection, and mainly by those re-

[1] "Minutes of 1871," p. 35.
[2] "Minutes of 1865," p. 355.
[3] "Minutes of 1865," p. 70.
[4] "Minutes of 1868," p. 286.

siding in Baltimore and the vicinity, and in the State of Kentucky. During the two and a half years preceding the Assembly of 1868 more than $40,000 of *their* contributions had passed through the hands of the Committee of Sustentation.[1]

The Southern Aid Society of New York.—This society, which was organized a few years before the Civil War, for the purpose of rendering aid to the feeble churches in the Southern country, was an incorporated body, and consisted of gentlemen of the highest moral and social position. For several years during and subsequent to the war the society had no funds to distribute, but about 1872 they came into the possession of about $10,000, devised to their society to be disbursed in accordance with their constitution. After a conference with the secretary of the Committee of Sustentation the society agreed to make its annual appropriations with the advice and under the direction of the General Assembly's Committee of Sustentation.[2]

We have already seen that this committee was consolidated with that of foreign missions in 1863. They were separated on account of the increasing volume of work, and because it was considered desirable to get the location of the Home Mission Committee nearer the center of its great field of operations. In 1886 this committee was carried to Atlanta.[3]

[1] These Christians have for the most part come into the Southern Church. The First Church in Baltimore is an important exception.

[2] The secretaries of each of the agencies are at least in part an explanation of the peculiar history of each. The secretaries of the committee under consideration have been: Rev. John Leyburn, D.D., 1861–63; Rev. J. Leighton Wilson, D.D., 1863–82; Rev. Richard McIlwaine, D.D., coordinate secretary, 1872–82; Rev. R. McIlwaine, D.D., sole secretary, 1882–83; Rev. J. N. Craig, D.D., 1883.

[3] The several locations of this committee have been at New Orleans, 1861–63; Columbia, S. C., 1863–75; Baltimore, 1875–86; Atlanta, 1886– . New Orleans was chosen first because that city had been the seat of the South-

An abortive effort or two has been made at coöperation with the Presbyterian Church, North, in the work of this committee in behalf of the freedmen. The way to a more perfect coöperation is not shut up, however.

3. *Education.*

In the account of the Constituting Assembly we have already indicated the nature of the constitution of the Executive Committee of Education. Assuming, at this point, a sufficient knowledge on the part of the reader of said constitution, we propose to trace the more important changes in the constitution, and then the more important experiences and activities of the committee, the support, the results effected, and its manning.

The plan for securing an educated ministry provided in the constitution of the committee organized in 1861 has been styled a beneficiary or eleemosynary plan of education, and has never been in universal esteem throughout the church. Several attempts have been made to have the whole plan substituted by others. In 1863 the Presbytery of Lexington overtured the Assembly to this effect:

> In view of the doubt of many in our church in respect to the beneficiary system of education as provided for the ministry, and believing that such a system too long and generally pursued may attract a wrong class of candidates with false motives and inferior qualifications, and may also repel another class (unwarrantably, it is true, but yet as the actual experience of the church); believing, also, that in this Southern confederacy young men of suitable gifts can, in most cases, without injurious delay, pay their own expenses in study by teaching and other useful pursuits, or by winning in fair competition cer-

western Advisory Committee; Columbia was made the second seat as a place relatively safe during the war, and to suit the convenience of Dr. Wilson, the secretary of the committee, as that of Foreign Missions also, which was located there. Baltimore was sought, among other reasons, on the ground of its being a great commercial center. Atlanta had that argument in its favor, in addition to its being nearer to the center of the Home Mission field.

tain bursaries or scholarships that might be provided at our seats of learning; and that in a few cases imperatively needing help, private hands or individual churches might more intelligently and watchfully bestow it—this Presbytery hereby overtures the Assembly to appoint a committee, at its approaching session, to revise the whole subject of beneficiary education, and to report to the General Assembly next ensuing.[1]

In reply to this overture, the Assembly declared that nothing short of the most cogent reasons would justify so early an abandonment, or even any important modification, of a scheme which had been incorporated with the original structure of its ecclesiastical system. On the other hand, it granted that the Board of Education of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America had not, previously to 1861, received the general support of the Southern portion of the church, and affirmed that there was considerable dissatisfaction with the counterpart of that board in the Southern Church, the Executive Committee of Education, and appointed a committee to report on the subject to the next Assembly, with the hope that if there was a better way of managing this valuable agency that better way might be discovered. The committee appointed, of which Dr. J. R. Wilson was the chairman, presented an elaborate report to the Assembly of 1864. It confined itself to a discussion of the question whether that "scheme of stipendiary schooling," practiced by the mother-church and adopted by the Constituting Assembly for the church of the Confederacy, was the "best to be continued." In answer to this question it laid down as a postulate that: "*Every candidate for the gospel ministry does, in sundering the ties which connected him with secular avocations, so far dedicate himself to the service of God in the church as entitles him to expect at her hands the education which he may yet need for that service; and he*

[1] "Minutes of 1863," p. 127.

is, therefore, not to be regarded by the church, or by himself, in the light of an object of charity, but as a laborer already occupying a place in the field of ministerial duty."[1] It took the ground that from the "outset of the minister's career—from the moment when he first put his hand to the plow in the field of preparation—he is a claimant, not upon the church's generosity, but upon her justice; not upon her feeling of pity, but upon her sense of duty"; that "if they who come to her doors, seeking entrance into her ministry, choose, or their immediate friends choose for them, to afford all needful pecuniary aid to help them onward to the period of their ordination, this is another matter"; that "the church may accept this assistance, but in so doing she is simply accepting a contribution to her treasury, for which she ought to be grateful"; that "she has no authority to demand it"; that he who has been "distinguished by being permitted to look forward to unusual labors and uncommon sacrifices, and it may be preëminent usefulness, in the cause of Christ, may well afford to inaugurate his career by casting all his property, as he does his talents, into the effort to prove worthy of so peculiar a distinction"; but that "the point at issue does not lie here"; that "it is not what the candidate may esteem as his privilege, but what the church must regard as her duty."

It acknowledged that grave difficulties beset the system, but held that they were not insuperable in themselves, nor fatal to the system, and that they were "simply inseparable adjuncts to it, as a system whose working has been necessarily intrusted to the imperfection of human wisdom, and is applied to the weakness of human subjects."[2]

The committee closed its report by recommending the adoption of certain resolutions, of which the following was

[1] "Minutes of 1864," p. 329. [2] "Minutes of 1864," pp. 320–22.

the first: "That, in the judgment of this General Assembly, it is the duty of the church to pray unceasingly to her Head for a large increase of candidates for the gospel ministry; and when they are received at her hands it is her further duty to provide them with a suitable education in the way of preparing them for their work, and to provide it *not as a matter of charity, but of justice to all parties concerned.*"[1] The report was approved and the resolutions adopted; but as the committee had spent its effort in discussing *the relation of the candidate to the church* and in proving merely that the church was morally bound to support him, the Assembly had yet to answer the question whether the support of the candidate should be provided for and superintended by the General Assembly, or by the Presbyteries, or in what way. In 1866 it adopted another elaborate report, which asserted that the plan of the Presbyteries' supporting the candidates had been tried between 1806 and 1807 by the parent church and had failed; that after 1807 a modified presbyterial plan had proven unsatisfactory; that, in consequence, about 1820 three great organizations were brought into existence to do the work, one of which was the Board of Education; that after this board, modified by the wakeful circumspection of the fathers down to 1861, the Executive Committee of Education had been formed; and that it was unwise to go back to these schemes which had proven unsatisfactory. In conclusion the report affirmed that "to Presbyteries must always belong the great, the binding duty of recommending candidates for support from the common treasury of the church"; that if they failed in this duty, if they were loose in its discharge, if they thrust forward beneficiaries who were undeserving an education at the hands of the church, with them alone lay the

[1] "Minutes of 1864," p. 334.

blame, as to them, on the other hand, belonged the Master's commendation for searching out and bringing forward worthy men for this purpose; that the chief responsibility of the committee must attach to its one great office, of judiciously expending the education funds of the church, and its duty of keeping the Presbyteries advised of the condition of the work it was prosecuting for them.[1]

This Assembly remodeled the constitution of the Executive Committee of Education. According to the original constitution the Executive Committee had "*a general oversight of the diligence and deportment of those who are aided by it.*"[2]

According to the constitution of 1866, "*no student shall be supplied by this committee except upon the recommendation of the Presbytery to which he belongs, or its Executive Committee of Education;* and all candidates shall be solely responsible to their own Presbyteries."[3]

Much that was justly offensive in the old constitution was removed in making the new. The new constitution leaves the whole responsibility for the candidates "where the constitution of the church places it—in the hands of the Presbyteries." The committee can be no longer "esteemed superior to the Presbyteries, clothed with authority to revise their proceedings, or inquire into the propriety thereof; but is simply the executive agency through which the Presbyteries perform this part of their work."[4]

In 1875–76 another attempt was made to substitute the Assembly's plan of stipendiary education by remanding the subject to the Presbyteries. But the attempt did not succeed. No better plan could be then devised. The

1 "Minutes of 1866," p. 75.
2 "Minutes of 1861," p. 23. The italics are the compiler's.
3 "Minutes of 1866," p. 34. The words have been italicized by the compiler.
4 "Minutes of 1868," p. 294.

Assembly's scheme was again commended to the confidence and support of the churches as the best practicable.

By the Assembly of 1893 the name of the Executive Committee of Education has been changed to "Committee of Education for the Ministry." This was merely to conform the name specifically to the object of the committee. No concomitant change in the constitution occurred.[1]

The support which the agency got in the way of contributions between the years 1863 and 1866 was practically nothing. This was owing, in part, to the fact that the fate of the committee was in suspense during the first two years of that period, and in part to the poverty of the

[1] The reader may readily observe that the Assembly of 1864 adopted a position which, though indorsed by the Assembly of 1866, was untenable, viz.: That the church is bound, as a matter of justice to the candidate, to educate him for the gospel ministry. If so, the church is bound to treat as a minister one who has never been called to the ministry by any congregation of believers, and one who may never be so called. The church is indeed bound to propagate itself, bound to raise up a qualified ministry; but not bound to secure it in a given way. If it can get candidates to prepare themselves without aid by the church, that in certain circumstances may be the preferable way. It is bound *to God* to secure a proper and sufficient ministry. It is not bound to a certain candidate, or set of candidates, prior to contracting with them, to fit them for the ministry. On the other hand, the candidate for the ministry who feels that he is called of God to the ministry, that in the ministry he can probably serve God best, is bound to get an education, whether the church will help him or not. He is bound to God to do so. Now, if there is a great need for ministers—so great a need that those candidates who are able to educate themselves do not suffice to supply the lack—then it becomes the church's duty to God to take up young men who feel called to the work, and are determined to get into it, but are held back by poverty. Such young men when taken up are not eleemosynary students, indeed. They are not, on the other hand, supported as a matter of justice to them. They are supported as a matter of worship to God. They take the funds not as charities to them; they take the funds as funds which the Church of God is bound to furnish God, that he may get ministers from the poor, in absence of a sufficient number of ministers who have been able to help themselves to an education.

This seems to be the real position taken by the Assembly of 1875, though it did not distinctly repudiate the position of 1864 and 1866; for the Assembly of 1875 indorsed the Assembly's plan as good, seeing the "necessity of beneficiary education, in order to keep up the supply of ministers in the Presbyterian Church." In fine, the constitution of the agency is excellent. If the Presbyteries would do their duty in selecting candidates and explaining their true relations to the funds, no evil consequence would follow.

church and her multitude of crying needs. Thenceforth the support has been better.

Though not at all connected with the Executive Committee of Education, yet because they are a part of the great educational forces of the church it will be convenient to take a brief survey, at this point, of the theological seminaries and of the colleges in connection with the Southern Presbyterian Church, as well as of certain colleges not in formal connection, but really recognized factors in this church.

To begin with the seminaries, there are six such institutions within the bounds, Presbyterian in origin and patronage, some of them, however, not officially known to the Assembly.

Union Theological Seminary, in Virginia, has been until the present the most important of these institutions. It was formally opened January 1, 1824, with one professor, the Rev. J. Holt Rice, D.D., and three students. Funds were rapidly raised for an endowment. In 1826 the institution was taken under the care of the General Assembly. The Synods of Virginia and of North Carolina, in the fall of the same year, took the place of Hanover Presbytery in governing the seminary. In 1830–31 the number of students was about forty; an additional professor had been secured. The death of Dr. Rice, in 1831, the troubles in the church which culminated in the division of 1837–38, and which separated from the seminary many of its active and zealous friends, changes of professors, and other causes, conspired to retard its growth and abridge its fullness for more than a score of years. Meanwhile a third professorship, that of ecclesiastical history and polity, was established in 1835; and a fourth, that of biblical introduction and New Testament literature, in

1853. Through zealous efforts of friends its endowment was gradually increased. Its funds were much cut down by the war; but it soon rallied, and has been making a steady growth until the present. The last report of the treasurer (May, 1893) shows that there is now invested in the name of the corporation $303,298.24. Besides, the institution owns about eighty acres of land; five residences for professors; a main building, which contains a handsome chapel, lecture-rooms, dormitories, and a refectory; three additional buildings for dormitories; a superior library building, with a fine library in it, and a gymnasium.[1] Between 1881 and 1891 a chair of English Bible and pastoral theology was established. The annual attendance has steadily grown; there are now over seventy students. Some of its distinguished teachers have been the honored Dr. George A. Baxter, the scholarly Dr. F. S. Sampson, "the profoundest American theologian," Dr. R. L. Dabney, that most clever exponent of church polity, Dr. T. E. Peck, and the distinguished young savant Dr. W. W. Moore. Dr. B. M. Smith reëndowed the seminary after the war.

Columbia Seminary was established in 1828, by the Synod of South Carolina and Georgia, its title being then "The Theological Seminary of South Carolina and Georgia." It is now under the immediate joint control of the Synods of South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, and Alabama. Its relation to the General Assembly is identical with that of Union Seminary, in Virginia.

Classes were first organized in 1831, with Dr. Thomas Goulding and Dr. George Howe as professors. In 1833 Dr. A. W. Leland became connected with the seminary, but Dr. Goulding died in 1834, so that only two professors

[1] See historical statement in "Catalogue of Union Theological Seminary, Virginia, 1892–93." Compare the historical statement in the "Constitution and Plan of Seminary," published in 1892.

remained to conduct the classes. Save for another brief period, no addition was made to the staff until 1849. From that time till 1860 improvement was rapid. In 1860 there were five professors—among them Dr. James H. Thornwell—and over fifty students in the seminary. From 1866 to the present time the work of the seminary has been carried on with various changes and interruptions.

In 1863 the property of every kind belonging to the seminary amounted to $277,940.81. Considerably over half of this vanished with the Confederate Government. The seminary subsequently had a long series of ups and downs. At present it has interest-bearing funds to the amount of $210,000. The professors' houses and seminary buildings are valued at about $50,000. The library is a very fine one. The preëminently great name among its teachers is that of Thornwell.

Tuscaloosa Institute.—In 1877 this school was established by the General Assembly, and located at Tuscaloosa, Ala.; and was opened for work, with seven students, the first session. The Executive Committee has been authorized by the Assembly of 1893 to move the Tuscaloosa Institute to Birmingham, Ala., whenever it seems advisable and practicable to do so without detriment to the cause for which the institute was founded. Birmingham is the center of a large and increasingly intelligent and well-to-do colored population.

The institute is under the control of the General Assembly, but its work is directed by the "Executive Committee for the Education of Colored Ministers." Its actual work and discipline were conducted by that devoted servant of the church, the Rev. C. A. Stillman, D.D., and chosen helpers, until the present session, the Rev. A. L. Phillips being now superintendent. The whole course of instruction centers about the English Bible. The Standards of

the Southern Presbyterian Church are faithfully taught. The sum total of the students taught in the institute to the end of the session 1892–93 is 152—93 Presbyterians, 45 Methodists, and 14 Baptists.

The Divinity School of the Southwestern Presbyterian University, at Clarksville, Tenn., was organized in June, 1885. "It is under the same government as the other schools in the university, viz., the board of directors appointed by the Synods of Alabama, Arkansas, Memphis, Nashville, and Mississippi." The last session was the most prosperous in its history, there being thirty-three students. Dr. Joseph R. Wilson was the first teacher of theology.

The Austin School of Theology was founded in 1884 by that distinguished and venerable theologian and philosopher, the Rev. R. L. Dabney, D.D., LL.D. This has been an incidental labor of his blind old age, and has been attended with tremendous difficulties, but followed by many blessings to the church in Texas. It is under the care of the Central Texas Presbytery.

The Rev. Dr. Isaac Long did a work of similar character at Batesville, Ark.

The Louisville Presbyterian Theological Seminary has been organized during the present year by the associated Synods of Kentucky and Missouri. It is placed under the control of the General Assembly somewhat more immediately and directly than Union or Columbia. "Should the Assembly see reason at any time to object to any of the acts of the directors or any of the other authorities of the institution, it may send down in writing to the directors or Synods its opinion in the premises; but it shall have no controlling negative except in the election or transfer of the professors, nor right to originate any measures for the seminary."[1] According to the constitution

[1] Article II. in the constitution.

of Union Seminary the Assembly can reach the seminary *only* through the Synods.[1]

The control which the Assembly has over the theological seminaries was formally defined by the Assembly of 1886 as involving such jurisdiction as will "in every case enable the Assembly, through the proper channels of authority, to keep all such institutions free from everything inconsistent with the spirit of our system, and, of course, free from all teaching inconsistent with the Word of God as expounded in our Standards."[2] Its precise relation to the individual seminaries "differs somewhat, according to the constitution and practice of the institutions as ratified by the Assembly."[3]

The following colleges and universities must be mentioned, not theological, but avowedly or virtually Presbyterian in their character and management.

Washington and Lee University,[4] at Lexington, Va., was founded in 1774, on the nucleus of a school taught by the Rev. John Brown, pastor of New Providence Church. This was an enterprise of Hanover Presbytery. It was subsequently removed to Timber Ridge, and later, in 1793, to a site near Lexington. It was thenceforth till 1797 called "Liberty Hall." The trustees had been incorporated in 1782, and authorized to confer degrees. In 1797 Washington donated to the institution one hundred shares of "James River Canal Company," which the General Assembly of Virginia had wished to give him. The trustees at once, in compliment to General Washington, changed the name

[1] The corresponding statement in the constitution of Union and other seminaries reads: "Should the Assembly see reason at any time to object, etc., it shall send down in writing to the Synods its opinion in the premises, but shall have no controlling negative, nor originate any measures for the management of the seminary."—"Constitution and Plan of Theological Seminary," p. 10.

[2] "Minutes of 1886," p. 43. [3] *Ibid.*

[4] See historical statement in "The Catalogue of Washington and Lee University, 1892–93, Lexington, Va."

of the institution to Washington Academy. The school thenceforth grew apace in usefulness and renown. At the close of the war the institution was again without income or credit, but under the presidency of Gen. R. E. Lee again burst forth in a rapid career of expansion.

The General Assembly of Virginia in 1871 changed the name of the institution to its present corporate title, "The Washington and Lee University." The institution has continued to grow rapidly. It now has an invested endowment of $630,999.78, yielding an annual income of $36,519.97. It has an able faculty of thirteen full professors and six instructors, and two hundred and forty-one students.

The institution has been separated from all formal relations with the church; nevertheless, it has still in its board of trustees and its faculty a very large majority of Presbyterians, and it is one of the principal feeders of the Presbyterian ministry in Virginia.

Hampden Sidney College, in Prince Edward County, Va., was opened in 1775–76. It owes its origin to Christian patriotism. Hanover Presbytery, the sole representative of the Presbyterian faith and order in all Virginia and her western territory, whose members in 1774 did not exceed ten, determined to establish a school also for the Piedmont and South Side regions of Virginia. The Rev. Samuel Stanhope Smith had been the most zealous promoter of the enterprise. He became its first president and organizer.

The college obtained a most liberal charter in 1783, and has enjoyed "an illustrious career of usefulness." Long lists of distinguished statesmen, judges, professors, and ministers whom she has schooled might be given. Her sixth president, Rev. Moses Hoge, D.D., 1807–20, was by appointment of the Synod of Virginia professor of theol-

ogy; and out of the want thus supplied and enlarged sprang the demand which was and could only be satisfied by the establishment of Union Theological Seminary, in 1824. The college is not rich, but has always maintained a high grade of scholarship, and has exerted a peculiarly ennobling and refining influence on the students. At present the teaching force numbers eight men: six full professors, one assistant professor, and one fellow. The students number about one hundred and fifty. The endowment is sufficient for an economical support. The president, the Rev. Richard McIlwaine, D.D., with tireless energy and good success, is bringing the college forward day by day, by new buildings, new appliances, etc.

Davidson College, in Mecklenburg County, N. C., was founded in 1837. It was at first opened as a manual labor institution, but the plan did not prove workable. According to the constitution of the college, no one is eligible as trustee, professor, or teacher who is not a member of the Presbyterian Church. During all the years of its course it has been remarkable for its able faculty; it has stimulated a thorough scholarship. Among its alumni are many distinguished men in secular life. More than one third of its graduates have entered the ministry. The college is under the control of a board of trustees appointed by the Presbyteries of the Synods of North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida.[1] The faculty contains ten professors and instructors. The student body numbers one hundred and fifty-three.[2] The endowment amounts to $109,000.

Southwestern Presbyterian University.—A meeting of commissioners from five Synods, viz., Alabama, Missis-

[1] Compare Semi-Centenary Addresses, Davidson College, 1887. Raleigh, N. C.: E. M. Uzzel, Steam Printer and Binder, 1888. See especially Dr. Rumple's Address.

[2] Session of 1892–93. See "Catalogue of 1892–93."

sippi, Arkansas, Nashville, and Memphis, had been held in May, 1873, to plan for a great common university. The plan formed was adopted by their several Synods and by the Synod of Texas, and they appointed two directors each. In 1874, after receiving many applications for the university, they finally fixed upon Clarksville as the place, and Stuart College, which was already a school of local repute, under the care of the Synod of Nashville, as the nucleus of further operations.

In June, 1879, the board of directors abolished the curriculum and reorganized the school on the plan of coördinate schools and elective courses. The endowment affords an economical support. The faculty, including the professors of the divinity school, consists of nine full professors. The attendance of students during the session 1892–93 was one hundred and thirty-five. A distinguished feature of the plan of the university is that "in connection with every course there shall be comprehensive and faithful biblical training, so as to make an intelligent Scriptural faith a controlling principle in the university."

Central University.—At a meeting of the Synod of Kentucky in 1871 resolutions were passed looking to the immediate endowment and equipment of a college. The Synod had despaired of regaining its rights in Center College; but a new movement rose out of the general conviction in the minds of men of intelligence that there was need of a *university.* A number of the alumni of Center College, and friends of learning and of the church, met in convention at Lexington on the 7th of May, 1872, organized themselves into a permanent association, and on the following day tendered to the Synod their coöperation for establishing such an institution. The offer was accepted. A charter was agreed upon by the joint committee of the Synod and the association, and was

adopted by the two bodies severally. "By the charter the donors of the endowment own and control the university under the title of 'The Central University,' and they elect their successors from among the alumni of the institution and its liberal benefactors." Two hundred thousand dollars were soon subscribed, and this was regarded as sufficient to justify the opening of the school. The university opened its first session in 1874; with varying fortunes, it has had on the whole an unusual career of expansion and solid usefulness.

The founders of the university aimed at a university proper. There are now, in addition to the College of Philosophy, Science, and Letters at Richmond, the Hospital College of Medicine and the Louisville College of Dentistry, each at Louisville, Ky. The faculties of these several colleges number respectively 14, 18, 12; and the student body, 201, 97, 46.

The Board of Curators is establishing at central points in the State university high-schools. One of these, the Jackson Collegiate Institute, at Jackson, Ky., has two hundred and two students. Hardin Collegiate Institute, at Elizabethtown, Ky., another, has forty-six students, and there are others in successful operation.[1]

Westminster College, at Fulton, Mo., originated in action taken by the Synod of Missouri in 1849. A charter was obtained in 1853. The war shook the college like a cyclone, and swept away most of its endowment. In 1868 it had only about $30,000 endowment, which was burdened with eighty scholarships affording free tuition to as many students. But the college has struggled bravely on, and all the while maintained a high standard of scholarship. Last session was the most prosperous in its history.

[1] "Catalogue of 1893," pp. 4, 5, 51, 52, 57, 59. Z. E. Smith's "History of Kentucky," pp. 422–551.

There are twelve men in the able faculty, under the presidency of Dr. Wm. H. Marquess, Dr. E. C. Gordon being its vice-president. There are one hundred and fifty students. The endowment amounts to about $230,000, though a part of it is somewhat encumbered temporarily.

Austin College, at Sherman, Tex., was chartered by the legislature in 1849. In 1850 the college began its career at Huntsville. In 1876 it was removed to Sherman. For a long time it was overwhelmed with financial troubles, but it has now emerged, and has an endowment of about $100,000. Under the present president, the Rev. S. M. Luckett, D.D., the patronage has increased fourfold. The institution was at first under the control of Brazos Presbytery. Later it passed under the control of the Synod of Texas, which now elects the members of the board of trustees.

King College, at Bristol, Tenn., was opened in 1868, "a child of necessity." It is not yet out of the financial throes of its birth and earlier years, but has done much good work for the church and state. More than half its graduates have entered the Presbyterian ministry. Many of them have reached eminence by their ability and scholarship. Its curators are appointed by Presbyteries in Tennessee and Virginia.

The Arkansas College, at Batesville, Ark., received its charter in 1872. Dr. Isaac Jasper Long was its first self-sacrificing president. The college has accomplished a grand work for the church and state in Arkansas. Prominent features: solidity and thoroughness of the work done; coeducation; prominence of the Bible in its teaching. More than a third of its graduates have become ministers.

South Carolina College, at Clinton, S. C., is a promising young institution.

Many female schools are doing their beneficent work for the church and for the homes throughout the land. Some of these are avowedly Presbyterian and under the oversight of Presbyteries. Some of them, while not formally Presbyterian, are really so. There are also many Presbyteral academical schools. There has been some little discussion as to the right of the church to establish Presbyteral schools, colleges, and the like. But the consecrated good sense of the people, and the demand which the Scriptures make that the church should raise up an able ministry, have carried the church over all opposition.

There are several eleemosynary institutions under the control of boards of trustees appointed by church courts. There are others directed and supported by Presbyterians. One of the most widely known is the Thornwell Orphanage, at Clinton, S. C. This is under the care of the Rev. Dr. Wm. P. Jacobs. It is without resources or endowment, dependent on Him who clothes the lilies and feeds the ravens. It has under its roofs, in rearing for useful manhood and womanhood, over a hundred orphans. Some have already left its walls for the ministry. One is a missionary in Japan. The General Assembly has undertaken a "Home and School" for the education of the orphans of Presbyterian ministers and missionaries, at Fredericksburg, Va. The school is well manned, and solicits the patronage of the public on the grounds of its superior advantages. The people of the church, sometimes in association with other Christians, have opened and maintained retreats for the sick and houses for the destitute of all classes.

4. *Publication.*

The constitution given the Executive Committee of Publication in 1861 remains the same to-day, with the exception of an unimportant change or two. For the sake

of convenience in the transaction of business, a separate charter of incorporation for the Committee of Publication was obtained in 1873–75. The separate incorporation was against the preferred policy of the church, but the guarded terms of the charter—forbidding the idea that the corporation could ever become independent of the church—and the business, convenience rendered the church contented.[1]

One of the first heavy calls upon the committee was for literature for the army. In 1863–64 it published fifteen thousand copies of an army hymn-book. In addition to tracts, it put into circulation in the army over fifteen thousand volumes obtained from the Religious Tract Society of London and other sources; and it published "The Soldier's Visitor," consisting mainly of tracts issued in sheet form and circulated free of charge.

It has been the duty of the committee from 1863 on to make a judicious selection of religious books wherever they may be found, and stamp its imprimatur upon them, that the people may be aided in helpful purchases. It has a respectable list of its own publications, too, embracing the imposing works of Dr. Thornwell and Dr. Dabney, as well as more popular works of scarcely less conspicuous men. In the list of its publications are to be found some works of an evangelical, but not distinctly denominational, character. The general oversight of all the Sabbath-school interests of the church, and the advancement of the work in all practicable ways, has been laid on this committee.[2]

It has been a special work of this committee to publish the "Children's Friend," which has a Sunday-school feat-

[1] The committee has always been located at Richmond, Va. The secretaries have been: Rev. Wm. Brown, D.D., 1861–63; Rev. John Leyburne, D.D., 1863–65; Rev. Wm. Brown, D.D., *pro tem*, 1865; Rev. T. E. Baird, 1865–77; Rev. W. A. Campbell, *pro tem*, 1877; Rev. J. K. Hazen, 1877 to the present.

[2] "Minutes of 1878," p. 651.

ure, and the "Earnest Worker," devoted since 1877 "exclusively to the exposition of Scripture lessons and other subjects promotive of Sabbath-school work." It has also issued "Lesson Helps" and "Lesson Quarterlies" for several years, and other similar publications.[1]

During a considerable part of its existence the committee has had the burden of colportage on its shoulders. In 1888 it undertook to sustain a colporteur in each Synod, a committee of the Synod to choose the colporteur and take the oversight of the work. This plan has been in operation from that time to the present, though for want of funds it has failed of entire fulfillment.

The church has never been satisfied with the small amount of colportage work done. While it has thrown the burden of it on the committee, and has required the committee, in addition to this colportage, to make gratuitous grants to ministers, churches, and Sunday-schools within certain limits, it has not given a large and kindly support to this important agency. This indisposition to support the committee has been owing to many causes. From 1866 to 1877 the work was badly managed.[2] When, however, the present secretary took hold of the work, the course of its history entered on a happy change. For a good many years the work of colportage and the gratuitous distributions of publications have more than consumed the annual contributions from the churches to the cause;

[1] "It is interesting to note the coöperation in publishing a Sunday-school paper with the Reformed Church in America."—"Minutes of 1876," p. 222.

[2] From November 1, 1866, to October, 1877, the cause of publication received $125,441.01. During that period the salaries of the secretary and other employees amounted to $70,229.17. And on October 1, 1877, the total available assets of the Publication Committee amounted to $53,466.17, and the total liabilities, $39,993.58. This was after the church had been working for years to endow the committee, and after it was supposed to have an endowment approaching $50,000. The committee was brought to this bad pass by serious mismanagement on the part of the secretary, Dr. Baird, who seems to have had no business methods.

yet the secretary is able to report in 1893 the net assets of the committee as $98,436.85.

Probably the fact that the publication cause is now so great a success keeps some from contributing. Probably they think that, seeing it is on such good footing, it should devote a larger percentage of its income to benevolent work. Whatever the cause, Dr. Hazen is worthy of all praise for the way in which he has conducted the work.

Though not under this committee's care in any sense, it is convenient at this point to glance at the journals of the church, which advocate the principles, give information concerning the work, and incite the people to a godly zeal in behalf of the church. Of these, mention must be made first of the weeklies—such as "The Christian Observer" of Louisville, "The Central Presbyterian" of Richmond, "The North Carolina Presbyterian" of Wilmington, "The Southern Presbyterian" of Clinton, "The St. Louis Presbyterian," "The Southwestern Presbyterian" of New Orleans. There are others. These weeklies are edited with varying degrees of ability. Each one is devoted chiefly to building up Presbyterianism in its own region, though striving in a more general way for the advancement of the whole denomination, and, indeed, of the whole church throughout the earth. The church needs sadly a consolidation of some of its weeklies. It wants one great weekly, fresh and able. As matters are, the short subscription-lists of most of these papers forbids such a staff as the church stands in need of.

"The Presbyterian Quarterly," edited by Dr. George Summey, assisted by Drs. Strickler and Barnett, is published in Richmond, Va. It is an able and scholarly publication.[1]

"The Union Seminary Magazine" is doing a good and

[1] Its writers are drawn too largely from others than the Southern Church, however. The absence of publishers and the poverty so general throughout

growing work, and coming into a larger degree of favor with each session. It is designed to be an organ chiefly for the faculty and students of that seminary.

The Home Mission Committee has a special organ, "The Home Missionary,"[1] through which it brings its great causes before the people. This sheet has been much improved of late. The Foreign Mission Committee at Nashville issues "The Missionary," one of the ablest of missionary publications.

The earnestness of the Assembly in the support of all the agencies whose review we have now completed is evidenced by a host of practical enactments, touching the duty of Presbyteries to incite all their churches to contribute to all the causes, touching the duty of ministers to enlighten their people on the grace and duty of giving, touching times and modes of collections, etc.[2]

5. *The Charter of the Assembly.*

The form of the charter of the board of trustees of the Assembly sought in 1861, obtained in 1866 from the State of North Carolina, has already been indicated.[3] It was amended in 1871–72 so as to enable the trustees to hold the funds which might be contributed for the relief of the widows and children of deceased ministers, and for other eleemosynary objects of the church. The several executive committees of the General Assembly, with the exception of the Executive Committee of Publication, have no separate corporate existence to this day. The board of trustees holds all the property of the General Assembly.[4]

the bounds of the church have not encouraged writing for publication, even in a relatively permanent form. The review writers should be discovered and developed.

[1] Published at Atlanta, Ga.

[2] Alexander's "Digest," pp. 301–317. [3] See Chapter II., p. 346.

[4] The practical relations between the board of trustees and the committees may be defined as follows: "When the trustees shall receive any

6. *Voluntary Agencies.*

The theoretical position of the church as a whole has been that the church, properly organized, is alone the divinely instituted and sufficient agency for the evangelization of the world. As to societies without the church, if they do not undertake functions which belong exclusively to the church, and if their objects and methods are morally and religiously good, they may be approved. Accordingly the Assembly indorsed the *National Bible Society of the Confederate States*, and has, since 1866, cordially commended the *American Bible Society* to the ministers and churches, and recommended contributions to it.[1]

On the subject of young people's societies, missionary societies, etc., there has of late years been much talk. The present trend of thought is in the direction of "societies in the church" and a part of it—that is, a perfected organ-

gift, devise, or bequest without direction from the donor as to the particular use or charity for which it is designed, the same shall be retained by them until the meeting of the next General Assembly. When the donor declares the particular use and the manner of its use, the trustees shall pay over the same to the appropriate committees."—"Minutes of 1873," p. 321.

"When a bequest has been made to the General Assembly, to be paid to two or more of the executive committees of the church, and the terms of the bequest do not specify the proportion according to which the amount of the bequest shall be divided among the committees, the board of trustees is authorized and instructed to divide the amount between the several executive committees for whom the bequest is intended according to the proportion of the annual contribution of the churches (excluding legacies) to these committees for the three years next preceding the time when the amount is divided."—"Minutes of 1886," p. 55.

[1] The precise attitude of the church toward this society may be clearly seen in an excerpt from a report of a committee made to the General Assembly of 1866, in regard to the church's relation to voluntary associations, which reads as follows: "Although it is the opinion of your committee that this society ought to be composed of representatives of different churches, appointed through their constitutional forms, yet as there is nothing in its constitution to prevent the free action in every church in carrying forward the work, and as its organization is simply for the printing and circulation of the Holy Scriptures, your committee recommends its countenance and support."—"Minutes of 1866," p. 38.

ization with every member of the church in such relation to the whole rest of the members as to be brought to work and to do his work. The trend is against "societies in the church but *not a part of it*"—societies which straddle this and other denominations, or which cannot be made to express Presbyterianism. The church believes that the Lord Jesus Christ is King, that his people are his servants, not his confidential advisers, and that the future of the church will be brighter just in proportion as the church follows the plan of the Bible church.[1]

[1] Compare Dr. C. R. Vaughan's article in the "Presbyterian Quarterly," July, 1893.

CHAPTER IV.

CHANGES IN THE CONSTITUTION AND LIFE OF THE CHURCH.

1. *The Doctrine.*

It will be remembered that the Constituting Assembly declared "that the Confession of Faith, the Longer and Shorter Catechisms, the Form of Government, the Book of Discipline, and the Directory of Worship," which together made up the constitution of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, were "the constitution of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America."

The church has continued well satisfied with her Confession of Faith. Such changes as have been made at all have touched only the accidents of the Creed. With the heart and soul of the Westminster Confession the church has been so well pleased that while other churches are trying to tear the very liver out of it, this church has been attempting to anchor herself more securely to it. According to the mother-church's Adopting Act of 1788, the Form of Government and Discipline and the Confession of Faith as then ratified were to continue to be the constitution and the confession of faith and practice, unless two thirds of the Presbyteries under the care of the General Assembly should propose alterations or amendments, and such alterations should be agreed to and enacted by the General Assembly.[1]

[1] Baird's "Digest," p. 36, § 16.

In the Assembly of 1861 an overture was presented proposing to make it much more difficult to change the constitution. It was referred to the Committee on Revision, and does not appear to have come before a subsequent Assembly. It was an exaggerated statement of the real position of the church. The part of the overture relating to the Confession the church was probably ready for in 1861, but it was not ready for that touching changes in the Form of Government. However, the church rested with the Adopting Act of 1788 until 1883, when the Assembly requested all the Presbyteries under its care to send up answers to the following questions to the next Assembly: "Shall Chapter VII. of the Form of Government be amended by adding a third section to read as follows: 'III. Amendments to the Confession of Faith and to the Catechism of this church may be made only upon the recommendation of one Assembly, the concurrence of at least three fourths of the Presbyteries, and the enactment of the same by a subsequent Assembly'?"[1] A large majority of the Presbyteries returned an affirmative answer, whereupon the Assembly of 1884 resolved "that this amendment be and is hereby enacted as paragraph 3, Chapter VII., Form of Government."[2]

During the years 1885–86 inclusive, the new paragraph was itself amended by adding to it the following words, viz.: "This paragraph shall be amended or altered only in the way in which itself provides for amendment of the Confession of Faith and the Catechism of the church." Thus had the old method of amending the Confession been superseded by a more tedious one. A similar but more moderate change had been meanwhile wrought in the method of amending the Form of Government.

While the formal development of the Creed has been

[1] "Minutes of 1883," p. 50. [2] "Minutes of 1884," p. 248.

next to nothing, it is believed that in a thorough-going comprehension of the great truths of revelation embodied in the Confession, and in their elaboration and defense, the Southern Presbyterian Church has taken no mean part. To prove that such is the case it is only necessary to mention the works of such great masters in theology and kindred departments of study as those of Drs. J. H. Thornwell and R. L. Dabney. Dabney has irradiated with the torch of thinking genius almost every phase of theology, anthropology, and soteriology; and Thornwell, with a chaste splendor of diction, has illuminated by a marvelous insight many of the perplexing problems in theology and in anthropology. Besides, there are many stars whose shining had been counted brilliant but for these suns. In the department of exegetical theology Dr. W. W. Moore is justly held in high esteem by the church.

2. *The Polity.*

The church undertook to revise its Form of Government and Book of Discipline as early as 1861. The Constituting Assembly appointed a very able committee for the purpose, and instructed it to report to the next Assembly. The church's sense of the need of revising these parts of its Standards is well expressed in the first report which the committee was able to make as to its work. That report says:

> The committee are deeply impressed with the desirableness of our possessing as a church a more scientific statement of the Scripture doctrine of church government than is found in our present form. The subject has been largely discussed and the doctrine much developed in various directions since our present form was adopted, and the book is no longer abreast of the advanced stage of the doctrine as it is actually held among us. For example: the book does not contain any statement of what are the radical principles of our system, except a very imperfect one, introduced in a mere footnote. Again, our doctrine of the courts receives no adequate presentation, nor is anything found in the book respecting the duties in full of the different office-bearers.

Again, the evangelist does not appear in any part of the book, except in a clause appended to the chapter on ordination, and in the general reference made to that most important office in the chapter on missions. Then, again, the method prescribed in the book for setting apart ruling elders and deacons without the imposition of hands is clearly unscriptural; and the remarkable omission cries aloud for the consideration of the church.[1]

It was owing to the vicissitudes of war that this report was not made until 1864. Along with it was handed the draft of the revision so far as the committee had proceeded —the Rules of Parliamentary Order and Canons of Discipline. Two years later the committee's work on the Form of Government was completed. Their report was adopted and sent down to the Presbyteries. A very large majority of the Presbyteries informed the Assembly of 1867 of their appreciation of the labors of the Committee of Revision, asked to have the results of their labors saved, but emphatically declined to adopt the revision.

There was a great diversity of views with reference to the proposed changes. The committee was therefore discontinued.[2] The church, however, was not satisfied with the old Form of Government and Discipline. During the years 1869–73 another effort to secure a revision was made; but this effort, too, and for reasons which caused the previous failure, was destined to prove a miscarriage. The results, nevertheless, were again stored in the archives of the Assembly.[3]

Finally, between the years 1876–79 inclusive, the successful effort was made. A revision was accomplished which met, to a degree, the want of the church as indicated in the report of the committee in 1864. The revision is on the whole a very worthy work. Had the only result been the erasure of the unscripturally broad de-

[1] "Minutes of 1864," p. 24. [2] "Minutes of 1867," pp. 149 ff.
[3] "Minutes of 1869," pp. 377 ff., and p. 396; 1870, pp. 518 ff.; 1873, p. 328.

markation between the minister and ruling elder which the old book made, it had been justified; but the new makes a fairly adequate statement of the ruling elder's rights and duties. It brings out with greatly increased clearness the deacon's duties and relations, and magnifies his office after a biblical fashion. It recognizes at least *quasi* deaconesses, which is a step in the right direction. If women had always been accorded the privilege of so serving the church, there might be less of obnoxious womanism among the churches to-day. It articulately asserts that the church is the "agency which Christ has ordained for the edification and government of his people, for the propagation of the faith, and the evangelization of the world." As this is the biblical and correct position, the church was doing much to become able to take subsequently the correct attitude toward the hosts of partial substitutes for the church which well-meaning but precipitate, rash, and irreverent men have proposed.

Some amendments to the paragraph on the evangelist might well be made, however. The church is somewhat hampered by the limited powers accorded this officer in the foreign field.

The revised book is more distinctly Presbyterian, and issued from a more solid conviction of *jure divino* Presbyterianism, than the old book. Occasional but not substantive amendments to the revised book have been made from time to time since its adoption.

Of the men who have watched and directed the development of church polity, special mention must be made of the names of Drs. J. H. Thornwell, B. M. Palmer, and T. E. Peck. To Thornwell is due credit for the full recognition of the rights of the ruling elder. Palmer has kept before the church the truth that the tenet of the headship of Christ involves the doctrine of the sufficiency of the or-

dained church and the impiety of any substitution therefor. Dr. Peck and Dr. Vaughan have done special service in bringing to light the functions of the diaconate.

3. *The Worship.*

The external worship of the church has changed but little. Here and there in the church there is an observable tendency toward a less simple worship; and responsive readings and prayers in which the congregations take oral part, elaborate and unworshipful music, etc., come into vogue. This is very rare.

In 1864–65 Colonel J. T. L. Preston, of Lexington, Va., and others endeavored to have introduced into the Directory of Worship "a few Scriptural and well-considered forms of prayer, requiring responses on the part of the congregation, the use of such forms to be optional on the part of the pastors." The attempt met with overwhelming defeat; and though repeated in 1872, it found its Waterloo in the same year. This has been the most prominent effort looking toward a liturgy. Mention may, however, be made of the effort to have "a directory of the oblations" prepared, in 1868, and of that to have a burial service prepared, in 1880. But the tendency toward forms of worship has been very small, unless you see in the desire to revise the old Directory unrest with its simplicity, which is not very probably true.

As early as 1864 inquiry was made as to whether it was then expedient to revise the Directory of Worship. The work was never undertaken, however, in earnest till 1879, at which time the revision of the Form of Government and the Book of Discipline had been completed. The Assembly of 1879 appointed an able committee, which was once reconstituted, was succeeded by an equally able committee, which in its turn was reconstituted. This

committee gave place in 1892 to a new committee, the work of which, as modified by the last Assembly's criticism, is now in the hands of the Presbyteries, for their reception or rejection, and will probably be adopted.

The revised Directory remains entirely a directory. It is not more a book of prescribed forms than before. Its superiority over the old is in its more copious suggestions, especially about the public profession of religion by new converts and about administering baptism.

The church has shown a praiseworthy zeal in improving its selections of hymns and Psalms.[1]

It is believed that the spirit of worship has not declined during the church's independent history. There seems, on the contrary, evidence to prove that it has deepened, that worship is viewed more as something which is expressed by the output of the life. To illustrate: Giving as an act of worship is kept in the forefront of the church to-day. Dr. T. E. Peck had this burden, also, of the Lord for his people and students. This instance is typical. Worship is regarded generally as intended service.

The meaning and nature of the sacraments have been kept in tolerable clearness before the people.[2] The propriety of special prayer and fasting on occasion has continued to be the common belief.[3] But it must be said that the church's attitude toward the Sabbath is not worthy. Her great teachers and her courts have uttered no uncertain sound. Few churches have had such stanch

[1] It revised its "Hymn-Book" between 1861 and 1866; revised and published its "Hymn and Tune Book" by 1873. In 1882, as many of the congregations had begun to use the "Hymns and Tunes" of Dr. C. S. Robinson, the Assembly placed its imprimatur on that book. (Alexander's "Digest," pp. 357–360.) The Assembly of 1893 gave a similar indorsement and approval to Dr. R. P. Kerr's "The Hymns of the Ages." ("Minutes of 1893," p. 15.)

[2] Alexander's "Digest," pp. 345–354.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 355, 356.

defenders of the Sabbath.[1] But the Sunday newspapers, Sunday mails, and Sunday railroad trains, etc., have had an influence as potent as pernicious; and the protests which the church courts and preachers have made against Sabbath desecration are monuments of very considerable dereliction in respect to Sabbath observances on the part of the church-members.[2] Nor can a church long maintain its worshipfulness after losing its reverence for the day especially set apart of God for the purpose of his worship.

Family worship has not made considerable advancement, but the church diligently inculcates the duty, and some progress is observable.

4. *The Social and Moral Life of the Church.*

It is the common observation that war and pestilence are followed by general ungodliness. *A priori* it would be expected that man would be sobered by the destruction of his fellows, and led to set his affections on God by the evident instability and insufficiency of all creature existence; that he would flee from the carnage and chaos around him and make for the source of all beauty and order. But it is not so. The harrowed inhabitants of the land cut up and devastated by war are apt to betray a fondness for trifling and belittling amusements, and a slavish grasping for the meanest muniments of temporal good.

If we do not find a strong tendency to worldly amusements and to dishonest business methods in the South during and after the Civil War, and during the horrible period of reconstruction, we shall therein remark a nota-

[1] "Minutes of 1863," pp. 16, 164; 1878, pp. 628, 641 ff.
[2] "Minutes of 1890," p. 91; 1893, p. 73 *et passim.*

ble strength of character, a wonderful work of God's grace in the hearts of his people.

Were we disposed to reconstruct history, as many writers seem inclined, from a literal acceptance of the protests which the church has from time to time made against these forms of sin, it would be easy to set forth a very gloomy view of the social and moral condition of the Southern Presbyterians during the decade 1860–70. But the principle which forbids our seeing, through the protests against concubinage on the part of the priesthood of the church from 400 to 1200, anything but universal uncleanness, permits us to see much of the highest Christian virtue in the life of the Southern Church during the decade named.

The Assembly of 1865 felt called upon to speak concerning the prevalence of fashionable amusements and social recreations in the following strain:

> The Assembly expresses itself with more earnestness on this whole subject because of the disposition which is observed in all parts of our borders to run into the inordinate indulgence of worldliness, at this time, in forgetfulness of the mighty chastenings of God which are even yet upon us, and because we see members of our churches and our beloved baptized youth, in forgetfulness of the covenant of God which is upon them, carried away with the world's delusions, to the subversion of the divine influence of the sanctuary, and to the neglect of the interests of their souls.[1]

Again, in 1869, in response to an overture from the Rev. Dr. R. L. Dabney, the Assembly "earnestly and solemnly enjoined" upon all the sessions and Presbyteries under its care the absolute necessity of enforcing the discipline provided in our constitution against offenses—under the word offenses including the attendance by our members upon theatrical exhibitions and performances, and promiscuous dancings, against intemperance, and availing themselves of the expedients for evading pecu-

[1] "Minutes of 1865," p. 362.

niary obligations now permitted by the legislation of the country in such a manner as cannot be justified by a conscience enlightened by the Spirit and the Word of God, and must dishonor the cause of Jesus Christ.[1]

These vigorous representations and protests against the evils specified are proofs indeed of their mournful prevalence, but are proofs as well of the fact that there was a large and influential element in the church most watchful against them. It is a marvel that the people of the church kept from frivolity and corruptness as they did. Few conquered people have experienced such a complete overturning of social conditions. A people of as great comfort and frugal plenty as any people on the globe enjoyed, perhaps, were thrown into the hardest conditions, and had a long, difficult struggle for existence. That they did not grow reckless and fall into bestial misanthropy and misotheism is the highest proof at once of their own virtue and God's goodness to them. Southern Presbyterians of to-day and the future may take a just delight in the heroically Christian character of the living in those early years of the church.

But not even with changed conditions and a country again prosperous has the church been free from a struggle on these subjects of dancing, card-playing, and dancing-schools. The church in Atlanta, Ga., was greatly racked in the effort to discipline such offenses in 1877–80. And throughout the church till to-day sessions and pastors have had to fight. Money-grabbing, gambling in stocks, futures, etc., have come to be fearful and prevalent evils among worldlings, and even among professing Christians throughout the nation. The territory of the Southern Presbyterian Church is not exempt. The church even has a share of those who worship mammon. And, further-

[1] "Minutes of 1869," p. 390.

more, these evils have brought other evils in their train—restlessness, thirst for exciting amusements, morally unhealthy living. These evils are naturally more widespread than the first class. Especially is this true in the larger cities. Nor have the church rulers in all cases fought well. Discipline is hard to administer—as hard to give as to receive. The church authorities have in many cases shirked.

Other social and moral evils which the church has had to battle with—to a limited extent among her communicants, to a greater extent among her baptized non-communicants, and especially among the worldlings about her—are intemperance and liquor-selling, ordinary gambling, and profanity. The church has bewailed and protested against profanity as a national sin of huge dimensions, has fought it in the pulpit, and has to a considerable degree lived out her horror of this sin.[1] She has fought gambling manfully, rating it as essentially robbery and leading generally to temporal ruin.[2] As an instance of the stand made by the church, reference may be made to the heroic, drastic, and effective measures against the New Orleans lottery by Dr. B. M. Palmer, culminating with the retirement of the company with the end of the year 1893 from the United States.

The church has been strong in its support of temperance, though consistently with its Standards it has refused to espouse a political party as an advance movement in its onslaught on intemperance. Its genuine attitude toward the question is brought out in a paper adopted by the Assembly of 1892, which is as follows:

WHEREAS, we recognize the liquor traffic as an aggressive enemy to the home, the church, and the state, an alarming menace to the Christian Sabbath, and a powerful obstacle to the work of establishing Christ's kingdom in foreign lands; and

WHEREAS, "Sin is any want of conformity unto or transgression of the

[1] "Minutes of 1862," p. 36. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 38.

law of God," and a failure to manifest disapproval of, or opposition to, a prevailing evil is a sin of omission; therefore,

Resolved, That we reaffirm the deliverances and testimony of our church, made in 1891, on the subject of temperance, the liquor traffic, and abstinence from intoxicants as a beverage, and we bear our testimony against the establishing and promoting the traffic in intoxicant liquors as the fruitful source of sin, crime, and misery.[1]

This stand was taken against "the liquor traffic" as it is, of course, and is approvable.

The attitude of the church toward lynching and other forms of mob law is one of steady opposition. Her people recognize the extreme provocation which has occasioned so much mob violence in the Southern States—the insufficient penalties affixed by our statutes to such crimes as rape and arson, and the tardy execution of such law as we have, or their damnable evasions. Southern Presbyterians recognize the great provocations; nevertheless, they theoretically and in general practice deprecate at once the provocatives and the outbursts of mob violence. They preach and live commonly against it.

Brighter illustrations of Christian living than are found in Southern Presbyterian homes exist nowhere.

[1] "Minutes of 1892," p. 462.

CHAPTER V.

THE RELATION OF THE CHURCH TO OTHER BODIES.

"If any man say, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar: for he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?"[1] The Presbyterian family of churches has been wont to recognize brethren in the numerous evangelical churches throughout the world. These churches have been distinguished for a liberality of posture toward the other branches of the Church of God in pleasing contrast to the exclusive claims of the majorities in the Episcopal and Baptist communions. And this posture toward the rest of the Christian world is of such importance as affecting the true unity of the Church of God in its opposition to the world that it deserves particular and careful treatment in the history of any church.

Having set forth, therefore, the origin and the historic development of the Southern Church, external and internal—its growth in numbers and external means and muniments, and its growth in doctrine, polity, and life—it becomes our duty to show how the church has lived with her neighbor churches.

But before doing this we propose to set forth the relations which this church has maintained with the state. These relations are not less important than the foregoing. If a church be united with a civil government, one of two things, as history establishes, invariably follows: the church becomes supreme and uses the state as its servant, thus

[1] 1 John iv. 20.

employing means and methods which God's Word forbids; or the state becomes supreme and prostitutes the Church of God to its own service.

Some dreamers to-day talk about christianizing the state. This can hardly be done before the millennium. Atheists, infidels, Jews, and hosts of other Antichrist men, are too frequent in this country to have a state essentially Christian in its form of constitution and laws. The constitution of our state may and should be theistic, but not Christian. Hence, the true relation between the church and the state should be that of respectful and friendly independence.

1. *The Non-Secular Character of the Church: Its Relations with the State.*—The reader will remember that in the "Address to all the Churches of Jesus Christ throughout the Earth," issued by the Constituting Assembly of 1861, it was distinctly affirmed that the church and state occupied provinces entirely distinct, and should in no wise intermeddle one with the other. And the theory that these two ordinances of God should remain in friendly and respectful and mutually helpful but entire independence, has remained the theory of the Southern Presbyterian Church—a theory which on the whole it has maintained well in practice. In a pastoral letter issued by the Assembly of 1865, and setting forth *the relation of the church to the government of the country*, these words occur:

> During the prevalence of this war, "the higher powers" actually bearing rule over most of our bounds, and to which, under the Word of God, we were required to be "subject," were the government of the Confederate States and those of the several States constituting it. By the event of the war the first has been overthrown; and the second, as constituents thereof, are changed. The "higher powers" now bearing rule over us are confessedly the government of the United States and those existing in the States wherein we reside. The rightfulness of these several authorities, and to which of them the allegiance of our people as citizens was or is primarily due, are matters upon which a judicatory of the church has no right to pro-

nounce judgment. The relations of the Church of Christ to civil governments is not one *de jure*, but *de facto*. As right and good, or wrong and wicked, they rise and fall by the agency and permission of God's providence. In either case the attitude of the church toward them is essentially the same. As long as they stand and are acknowledged, obedience is to be enjoined as a duty, factious resistance condemned as a sin; but in regard to conflicts between existing governments, or as to movements in society, peaceful or otherwise, to effect political changes, the church as such has no more control over them than it has over the polls of the country. If it has authority to uphold on the one side, it has equal authority to condemn on the other; if to suppress a political movement, then also to instigate it. In truth it has neither; and to assert the contrary is to corrupt the church in its principles, forever embroil it with the strifes of the world, and plunge it headlong into ruin.

Under these views, and considering the extraordinary conflict through which the country has passed, as well as the extraordinary circumstances in which it is now placed, it is incumbent upon us to exhort you, brethren, to obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves; fulfill with scrupulous fidelity all your obligations to the government of the land, remembering the duty of this compliance, "not only for wrath, but for conscience' sake." For so is the will of God, that with well-doing you may put to silence the ignorance of foolish men.[1]

In the report of the Committee on Foreign Correspondence, adopted by the Assembly of 1866, are found the following words:

The old conflict for the spirituality and independence of the church is, to the amazement of many, renewed in our day and upon our own continent. The battle fought generations ago by the Melvilles, Gillespies, and Hendersons of Scotland is reopened with singular violence, and the old banner is again floating over us with the historic inscription, "For Christ's Covenant and Crown." Upon no one subject is the mind of this Assembly more clearly ascertained, upon no one doctrine is there a more solid and perfect agreement among those whom this Assembly represents, than the non-secular and non-political character of the Church of Jesus Christ. Whatever ambiguous or indiscreet expressions may have been extorted under pressure of extraordinary excitement from individuals among us, the Assembly of this church deliberately reaffirms the testimony given in the solemn "Address to the Churches of Jesus Christ throughout the Earth," issued in 1861, during its session in the city of Augusta.[2]

[1] "Minutes of 1865," pp. 382 ff.

[2] The very words of the letter, beginning with "*The provinces of the church and state are perfectly distinct*," and ending with the words "*in the world of matter*," are quoted. See chapter ii., this sketch, p. 349.

[This address] commits us to the maintenance and defense of the crown rights of the Redeemer, whether, on the one hand, they be usurped by the state, or whether, on the other, they be renounced by any portion of God's professing people. Summoned thus in the providence of God to contend for the same principles for which our martyr fathers of the Scottish Reformation testified even to the death, and which the fathers of the Southern Presbyterian Church labored so earnestly to secure, and rejoiced in having obtained their full recognition by the civil government in America, it would be most happy if all those in the different branches of the Presbyterian family who are called to renew the protest could be united in one homogeneous body for the reassertion of Christ's regal supremacy in and over his spiritual kingdom, the church. The scattered testimony of individual witnesses would deepen in intensity if gathered into one volume and rolled against those who would place the crown of Jesus upon the head of Cæsar. In view of all which, this Assembly would tender the hand to all who are of like mind with us as to the doctrines of grace and as to the order and discipline of God's house, that as one compacted church we may oppose a break-water against the current that is sweeping from its moorings our common Protestantism, until the doctrine of the church as a free and spiritual commonwealth shall regain its ascendency, not only over the Presbyterian but over the whole American Protestant mind.[1]

[1] "Minutes of 1866," pp. 30 ff. Compare the letter of the Synod of Kentucky. This letter to the General Assembly contemplating union was written in 1867. It set forth the principles of the Synod. The General Assembly, in giving it a place upon its records, assured the Synod of its "substantial agreement" therewith. It contained the following words:

"It is therefore not only incompetent to the church courts, but positively a perversion of the truth, that they shall assume to consider any questions than those which relate to the government, order, and discipline of Christ's visible kingdom, or to determine these on grounds aside from the Word of God, or to speak in Christ's name and by his authority, otherwise than to the faith and conscience of his people, concerning things to be obeyed as enjoined by the law of Christ. . . . The church has manifestly no commission either to discharge any functions of the state, or to direct, advise, or assist the state. . . . Therefore the attempt on the part of the tribunals of the church to exercise the authority thus delegated to them by Christ in determining questions merely secular, concerning which his Word makes no such determination, is to usurp the prerogative of the church's divine Master; and practically to obscure to the faith of his people the doctrine of his kingly office. . . . Hence this Synod and its Presbyteries have steadfastly protested against and resisted the assumption of authority by the church courts to advise, direct, and assist the civil government in its policy by the exercise of their spiritual authority, or to interpose the power of the spiritual sword for enforcing any theories of social organization, or theories of labor, or political theories, or to direct men as citizens in the choice of their civil polity. . . .

"As to the functions and sphere of the General Assembly and other courts, they have maintained, and desired to have it recognized as the accepted

Concerning the relation of the church to the institution of slavery, the "Address to the Churches of Jesus Christ throughout the Earth" had set forth as the church's position that the policy of slavery's existence or non-existence was a question which exclusively belonged to the state; that the church had no right to enjoin it as a duty, or to condemn it as a sin.[1] In the pastoral of 1865 the church affirmed that the address referred to "contains the only full and unambiguous and deliberate and authoritative exposition of our views in regard to this matter"; it reaffirmed "its whole doctrine to be that of Scripture and reason." After quoting at length from the Address, the pastoral letter of 1865 goes on to say:

> This relation is now overthrown, suddenly and violently: whether justly or not justly, in wrath or in mercy, for weal or for woe, let history and the Judge of all the earth decide. But there are two considerations of vital interest which still remain. One is that while the existence of slavery may, in its civil aspect, be regarded as a settled question, an issue now gone, yet the lawfulness of the relation as a question of social morality and Scriptural truth has lost nothing of its importance. When we solemnly declare to you, brethren, that the dogma which asserts the inherent sinfulness of this relation is unscriptural and fanatical, that it is condemned not only by the Word of God but by the voice of the church in all ages, that it is one of the most pernicious heresies of modern times, that its countenance by the church is a just cause of separation from it (1 Tim. vi. 1–5), we have surely said enough to warn you from this insidious error as from a fatal shore.[2]

Such were the "well-considered and formal views of the church" up to 1870. The church has, however, once or twice—and according to the judgment of her critics,

interpretation, that the constitution of the church assigns to the General Assembly no function to the end that it may counsel, direct, or assist the civil government. . . . That neither does the constitution assign to the Assembly any authority to consider and determine either questions of the policy of the state touching its citizens, or the duties of the citizens as such, in respect of the policy of the state; or questions between different interpretations of the Federal constitution."—"Minutes of 1867," pp. 183 ff.

[1] "Minutes of 1860," pp. 55 ff. See pp. 344 ff. of chapter ii. for a full statement of the church's position in 1861, in its own terms.

[2] "Minutes of 1865," p. 385.

several times—been inconsistent in practice with her formal views. The following instances of real or apparent transgression may be found from her records.

In the Narrative of the state of religion in 1862 it is said:

> All the Presbyteries which have reported dwell upon the absorbing topic of the war in which we are now engaged. . . . [Again] All the presbyterial Narratives, without exception, mention the fact that their congregations have evinced the most cordial sympathy with the people of the Confederate States in their efforts to maintain their cherished rights and institutions against the despotic power which is attempting to crush them. Deeply convinced that this struggle is not alone for civil rights and property and home, but also for religion, for the church, for the gospel, for existence itself, the churches in our connection have freely contributed to its prosecution of their substance, their prayers, and above all of their members, and the beloved youths of their congregations. They have parted without a murmur with those who constitute the hope of the church, and have bidden them go forth to the support of this great and sacred cause, with their benedictions and with their supplications for their protection and success. The Assembly desires to record, with its solemn approval, this fact of the unanimity of our people in supporting a contest to which religion as well as patriotism now summons the citizens of this country, and to implore for them the blessing of God in the course they are now pursuing. [Again] We are constrained, however, to call the attention of the churches to the fact mentioned by some of the Presbyteries, that the absorbing interest of the struggle, in which we are contending for everything dear to man, is having some influence in lessening in the minds of God's people a sense of their spiritual obligations.[1]

The report on theological seminaries of the same year says:

> We distinctly recognize the right of the state to claim the services of any or all of her citizens in this time of need. We also acknowledge it a privilege as well as a plain duty for our people to pledge each other, and the government of their choice, their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor, in united effort to drive back the invaders of our soil and the enemies of our institutions. Yet when and where this necessity does not exist we think that our candidates can better serve their generation, and do more for their country, by diligently preparing to preach the gospel.[2]

[1] "Minutes of 1862," pp. 21 ff.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

Somewhat similar faults were made in the pastoral letter of 1862, and in the Narrative of 1863.[1]

The Narrative of 1864 contains these words:

One and another message has come to us from the field of deadly strife, filling our minds with the deepest solicitude, urging us to more united prayer, and inspiring us with profound gratitude to God for the repeated repulses of our insolent and cruel foe. . . .

Our enemies have evinced a settled determination to prosecute their enterprises of guilt and horror in the face of all the disastrous consequences which must ensue from this insane attempt to subjugate and destroy us. . . .

The wonderful work of grace in our armies presents the strongest encour-

[1] In the pastoral letter of 1862 it is said: "We have been called on to witness the desolations of the land, and to mourn over the waste places of Zion, created by the havoc of war; and from all our churches we hear the report that the ranks of the armies of our national independence are crowded with the noblest of our brethren and with the choicest of our youth, who have rushed to the rescue of the republic, driven by the impulses of patriotism, and in obedience to the call of God and of our country. But our hearts turn with special solicitude toward the noble youth of our congregations who have gone from our midst to this bloody contest for national life and independence. . . .

"We honor you for your self-denial and patriotic zeal; we would love to see you become the honored instruments in God's hands in leading sinners to the Saviour. . . . In you are wrapped all the hopes of our church and country. With the solution of the question, What are you to become? will be determined the problem of our national glory or shame, and that of the success and usefulness of the church in our beloved land. We tremble for you as we see you drawn away by the duties of patriotism from the constant use of the means of grace and divine influence of the sanctuary. We sympathize with you as you endure fatigue and sickness in camp, as you engage in the life-struggle on the sanguinary field, and as you consecrate everything dear on earth on the altar of patriotic duty."—"Minutes of 1862," pp. 35 ff.

The Narrative of 1863 says: "During the period which has elapsed since the last annual session of this body, our unhappy country has been the theater of a war unexampled, perhaps, in the scope of its operations, of the vast numbers engaged, and of the pitiless barbarity with which it has been conducted on the part of our invaders. The blood of our brethren, our fathers, and our children, unjustly and untimely slain, cries to Heaven. A considerable portion of our territory is in possession of the enemy, and all communication with the churches embraced in those districts must for the time be suspended. We look forward with a cheerful confidence to a renewal of our relations to those churches, when, by the favor of God, the enemy shall have been expelled. We commend these afflicted brethren to your sympathies and your prayers. It is to us matter of devout gratitude to Almighty God that he has so often and so signally baffled the efforts of our enemies to effect our subjugation, and that he has vouchsafed to our arms victories so repeated and so wonderful."—"Minutes of 1863," p. 155.

agement to the praying people at home, and has placed the seal of the divine approbation upon our righteous cause. . . .

The reports of all our Presbyteries indicate an increasing interest in the spiritual welfare of our colored population. The long-continued agitations of our adversaries have wrought within us a deeper conviction of the divine appointment of domestic servitude, and have led to clearer comprehensions of the duties we owe to the African race. We hesitate not to affirm that it is the peculiar mission of the Southern Church to conserve the institution of slavery, and to make it a blessing both to master and slave. We could not, if we would, yield up these four millions of immortal beings to the dictates of fanaticism and the menace of military power. We distinctly recognize the inscrutable Power which brought this benighted people into our midst, and we shall feel that we have not discharged our solemn trust until we have used every effort to bring them under the saving influence of the gospel of Christ.[1]

During the period between the close of the war and 1870 there was a great controversy in the country, upon the spirituality and independence of the church as the visible kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ upon the earth. And in order that the mass of her membership might know clearly the past witness of the church as to her independence, and the proper testimony for the future, the Assembly of 1870 instructed the Committee of Publication to issue in tract form the public official utterances of the Assemblies in relation thereto.[2]

This publication, together with the repeated charge that the church had not maintained an attitude of independence toward the Confederacy, was the occasion of the Assembly's reviewing in 1875–76 its witness as to the non-political character of the church, and formally setting forth its testimony once again. The Assembly of 1876 recited the church's testimony concerning its own non-secular and non-political character, delivered from 1861 to 1867 inclusive. It extracted from the minutes practically the entire body of expressions alleged to be incon-

[1] "Minutes of 1864," p. 293.
[2] Compare "Minutes of 1870," p. 542.

sistent with the afore-mentioned declarations.[1] By way of comment on these two classes of extracts, it affirmed:

It will be seen that the doctrine announced and maintained by the Assembly, on the relations of the church to the state, is not, as has often been charged, the unscriptural and impracticable idea that the church and Christian people, as such, have no duties to perform toward the state. True, the Assembly denies the right of the church courts to interfere with the domain of Cæsar by legislating on purely political questions; but at the same time it has the right to enjoin those duties which the citizen confessedly owes to the commonwealth. . . . As long as states stand and are acknowledged, obedience—that is, submission and obedience in all things not sinful—is to be enjoined as a duty; factious resistance to be condemned as a sin. . . .

In 1861, at the time of its organization, the Assembly found its members placed under the civil authority of the Confederate Government and that of the respective States which constituted it. The governments, State and Confederate, were established and generally acknowledged within our respective bounds. The United States Government was known to us only as one with which the Confederate Government was at war, and by which it was menaced by land and by sea. Under these circumstances, and in accordance with the above principles, our Assembly recognized "the powers that be," and which are "ordained of God over us," to be those of the government of the Confederate States and of the respective States confederated in it. Hence it was simply carrying out its own principles and the doctrines of the Word of God when it taught the citizens and the soldiers to discharge toward these high civil authorities the duties which the Scriptures enjoin toward "the powers that be," and when it made "intercession for all that are in authority." . . .

So far as any action of *that kind* goes, and to *that extent*, there is nothing that offends against the principles set forth in our formal declarations.

In the Narrative of 1862 there is a single clause which demands a criticism. The situation of the Southern country was known to be one of extreme peril. The war, if successful on the part of the United States, involved not only the destruction of the Confederate Government, but the forfeiture of the political rights of its citizens, the overthrow of the existing domestic institutions, the loss of property, and other evils universally dreaded. Under these circumstances it was right and proper for our Assembly to utter a strong declaration of sympathy for our people, and to give a decided expression of commendation to those who were performing these acts of what they esteemed a patriotic duty. It was substantially saying to them: "As this is to you not only a government *de facto*, but also one of your own choice, we commend you for acting faithfully and fully according to these convictions, and follow you with our prayers." But when our Assembly intimates or implies an opinion as

[1] The extracts are just those given in the immediately preceding pages of this chapter.

to whether the war referred to was justly or unjustly waged, or a decision as to which was, in its origin and principle, the government to which the citizens owed obedience, it transcends the limits of its authority. It no longer bases its commendation upon what is *de facto* as to the government, or upon the inherent right which the citizen had in defending the government of his choice, but it assumes to decide upon the righteousness of the war. A court of the Lord Jesus Christ has no commission to do this. It is in principle the error we have condemned in the Northern Assembly of 1861, and those of other years.[1]

Another alleged error is to be remarked in several forms of expression found in the extracts which have been recited; such as: "the *war* in which *we* are now engaged"; "the absorbing interest of the *struggle* in which *we* are now contending for everything dear to man"; "the armies of *our* national independence"; "the pitiless barbarity with which it [the war] has been conducted on the part of *our* invaders"; "it is to us matter of devout gratitude to Almighty God that he has so often and so signally baffled the efforts of *our enemies* to effect *our subjugation*, and that he has vouchsafed to *our arms* victories so repeated and wonderful"; "profound gratitude to God for the repeated repulses of *our* insolent and cruel foe"; "this insane attempt to *subjugate and destroy us.*"

If these expressions are to be taken in their literal sense, it should be candidly admitted that they are entirely out of place in a court of the Lord Jesus Christ, and are therefore to be regretted and disapproved. They seem to arise from a confusion of thought or a temporary forgetfulness; at any rate, there is a failure to discriminate between what may be properly uttered in the character of a citizen and what may be uttered by an ecclesiastical body.

At the same time, with this admission, it may be rightly insisted that the objection rests to a large extent upon a hypercriticism; for it is evident that the word "our" is here used inadvertently, and in a very general sense, similar to the phrase "our army," or "our country," so often heard in all ecclesiastical assemblies.

Concerning Slavery.

In the Narrative of the state of religion for 1864 two expressions concerning slavery are found which may have given rise to much criticism. It is

[1] "There is, however, this wide difference between the action of the two Assemblies. The Northern not only decided a purely political question for its own members residing within these States and Territories, confessedly subject to the jurisdiction of the government of the United States, but it also undertook to decide the great question for the members of our churches residing under the *de facto* government of the Confederate States, and one organized under forms of much regularity and with much unanimity; and undertook also to make compliance a condition of church-membership, and to visit with discipline those who disobeyed this act of usurpation. The Southern Assembly was never guilty of this transgression, though it may have erred in the particular mentioned."—"Minutes of 1876," p. 294.

proper to state, as a preliminary remark, that these Narratives in general are not closely scrutinized when presented to the General Assembly, inasmuch as they are not expected to introduce difficult or debatable points. And in regard to the Narrative for that year, it is a well-known fact that it was read on the very eve of the final adjournment of the body, at a time when the most exciting reports of battles occurring or impending had just reached the place [Charlotte, N. C.], and when many members, apprehensive of being cut off by military operations from a return home, were impatiently hurrying away. If, therefore, some things may be found in this paper less carefully expressed than could be desired, the statement just presented may account for the fact that attention was not drawn to them. But taking them as they are, there are a few remarks to be offered which are due to a fair understanding. We notice:

1. The expression that "domestic servitude is of divine appointment." The essential principle of slavery is submission, or subjection to control by the will of another. This is an essential element in every form of civil government also, and in the family relation itself. The application of this principle in the form of "domestic servitude" is right or wrong according to circumstances. It is not an institution essential to the social state, and therefore is not of universal obligation. But in certain conditions of society it has been expressly recognized by God, permitted and appointed. See Exodus xx. 10, 17; Exodus xxi. 7; Leviticus xxv. 44–46; Matthew v. 17; 1 Timothy vi. 1–4. If it is a relation justifiable and lawful in the sight of God, it must be in a certain sense of divine appointment, since whatever is thus lawful implies the sanction of the law-giver. And the existence of wrong laws and usages connected with it no more disproves the lawfulness of the relation itself than such things disprove the lawfulness of marriage or of civil government.

Therefore, by declaring the institution of slavery to be "of divine appointment," our Assembly must not be understood as expressing the opinion that it was ordained of God as a positively divine and obligatory institute of society for all communities; but simply that as it was recognized and enforced by the law of the Confederate States, and of the particular States embraced in that confederation, and was a relation existing and prevailing throughout its boundaries, it was, in the sense of all established civil relations, a matter of divine appointment for the time being, in the midst of the people of those States.

2. It is affirmed that it was the peculiar mission of the "Southern Church to conserve the institution of slavery."

Concerning this we remark that the same form of expression is to be found in the "Minutes of the General Assembly (New School) of 1865." In a carefully considered paper on "The State of the Country," that Assembly says: "God has taught us in this war that the church must conserve the state by instructing the people in the great principles of justice, and inspiring them to practice the same." If any one will define the sense in which it is

proper for the church "to conserve the state," in the same sense it would be also proper for it "to conserve the institution of slavery." It certainly is not the duty of the church to conserve the state in the sense of dictating what form of civil government it shall establish, how long it shall continue, or for what causes it should be changed. Its duty is limited to condemning at all times factious resistance to established civil authority, to inculcating obedience while it remains, and those virtues by which it may be made, as far as possible, a blessing to society. The very same applies to slavery; and whoever will read in its connection the expression used by our Assembly, must see that such is the sense there intended by that word, namely, to secure from this relation and arrangement, as it existed, the greatest practicable amount of good for all classes of society, and thus "*make it a blessing both to master and slave.*" This we know was the sense intended by the writer of the Narrative, now settled as an acceptable minister in connection with the Northern Assembly, and we have no doubt it was the sense in which the Assembly adopted it.

It has been widely proclaimed that our Assembly meant by the word "conserve" to assert that it was the duty of the church to *perpetuate* the institution of slavery. On this point it may be remarked: (*a*) that no such intended meaning is to be gathered from the context; (*b*) that such an interpretation is negatived by the explicit and carefully considered statement of our church on this point, at its first organization in 1861. (*c*) Even those who have raised a clamor against us do not themselves seem to be satisfied that the word "conserve" necessarily means to perpetuate. This is evident from the fact that in the minutes of their General Assembly charging us with "grievous heresy" and with "blasphemy" they repeatedly misquote, and therefore misrepresent us. The word *perpetuate* is never used by our Assembly, but is to be found in the *interpolation* of its accusers. ("Minutes of the General Assembly, North, for 1865," pp. 560 ff.) (*d*) Finally conceding, as we do, that the word "conserve" in this connection is ambiguous, our Assembly in 1865 did all that it could be reasonably expected in the premises to disengage itself from an ambiguous or inappropriate expression. All that was necessary or proper was to declare that the Address of 1861 "contains the full, unambiguous, and authoritative exposition of our views in regard to this matter." And this was done for *the special purpose of disavowing an interpretation which was inconsistent with the deliberately expressed views of our church.*[1]

Finally, the Assembly of 1876, in view of all the circumstances and interests involved, solemnly, in certain specific resolutions, reaffirmed the explicit statements concerning the non-secular character of the church, set forth in the

[1] "Minutes of 1876," pp. 291–297.

"Address to all the Churches of Jesus Christ throughout the Earth" of 1861; disavowed all ambiguous and inconsistent expressions found upon the records as forming any part of the well-considered, authoritative teaching of the church; declared the meaning of the Assembly of 1864, in speaking of conserving slavery "as of divine appointment," to have been, so far as ascertainable, "that as it was recognized and enforced by the Confederate States, and was an existing relation prevailing throughout its boundaries, it was, in the sense of all established civil relations, a matter of divine appointment for the time being in the midst of the people of those States"; and that it was the church's duty "to secure from this relation and arrangement, as it existed, the greatest practical amount of good for all classes of society, and thus make it a blessing both to master and slave."[1]

It thus appears that if the Southern Presbyterian Church has faltered in her testimony for the non-secular character of the church, her falterings have been transient inconsistencies. Her witness for this truth has been one of her peculiar glories. The Assembly has humbly explained and acknowledged such mistakes as she has made. "That it faltered at all amidst the pressure and confusion of the times is not the surprise, but rather that it did not fall away from the truth like others. . . . The surprise is that it has had the grace to acknowledge before the world its inconsistency in any transient departure. Awakening from a terrible delirium, and finding that a false and treacherous principle had, in an interval of paroxysm, stealthily insinuated itself, it hurled it with indignation from its embrace, and placed its heel upon it as a deadly viper."[2]

It is believed that the church has continued to hold until

[1] "Minutes of 1876," pp. 233, 234.
[2] Dr. S. S. Laws' "Letter to the Synod of Missouri (O. S.), 1872," p. 67.

the present the same theoretical view. In 1883, in reply to an overture from Abingdon Presbytery, the Assembly declared "that it is not competent for the church, in its organic capacity, to seek the intervention of the civil powers for the accomplishment of any of the ends before it, as a witness for the truth of God. The Assembly would furthermore deprecate all action which might be construed as committing the church to any alliance with associations or societies outside of its pale for the accomplishment of this or any other object, however worthy in itself."[1] Any apparent deviation from this position since 1883 will appear on investigation to be merely apparent or unintentional.

2. *Cases of Organic Union with other Ecclesiastical Bodies.*

Union with the Independent Presbyterian Church took place in 1863. The founder of this church was the Rev. W. C. Davis, who withdrew from the Presbyterian Church about 1810—a "man of a vigorous intellect, of considerable influence among the people, and an interesting preacher, given more to metaphysical speculation than most men,"[2] extremely tenacious of what he regarded as new discoveries, and so unacquainted with church history as to be ignorant that most of the beloved offspring of his mind had been broached, advocated, exploded, and forgotten long before.[3]

[1] "Minutes of 1883," p. 24.

[2] Howe's "History of the Presbyterian Church in South Carolina," vol. ii., p. 97.

[3] Compare Howe's "History of the Presbyterian Church in South Carolina," vol. ii., p. 158. His views were propagated orally and through his book, "The Gospel Plan," in which the courts of the church found the following objectionable doctrines: 1. "That the active obedience of Christ constitutes no part of that righteousness by which a sinner is justified;" 2. "That obedience to the moral law was not required as the condition of the covenant of works;" 3. "That God could not make Adam, or any other creature, either holy or unholy; . . . regeneration must be a consequence of faith; faith precedes regeneration; faith in the first act of it is not a holy act;" 4. "Christians may sin willfully and habitually;" 5. "If God has to plant all the principal parts of salvation in a sinner's heart to enable him to believe,

He had a small following, not so much of adherents to his peculiar views as of personal friends. They perpetuated their separate life until 1863. In that year, "upon the cordial and hearty adoption of our confession, . . . the only true ground on which we can receive any ecclesiastical body,"[1] they were received into the Southern Presbyterian Church.[2]

Union with the United Synod of the South was the next to be consummated. This occurred in 1864. In 1838 a split between the Old and New School wings of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America took place. In 1857–58 the Southern contingent of the New School body withdrew from its Assembly in the North because the Cleveland Assembly of that body (1857) had "adopted a paper touching the subject of slavery, that was regarded by some of the members of the Assembly as contrary to Scripture and violative of the constitution of the church, in that it virtually made slaveholding a cause for discipline by the church courts."[3] The aggrieved members secured a convention in Richmond, Va., during the following August, to consider the situation. This convention despaired of the cessation of the slavery agitation in the New School Assembly; abhorred being disciplined for something made an offense neither by the Standards nor the Bible, as well as the Assembly's high-handed and unconstitutional measures in condemning a lower judicatory or individuals for any cause unless they have been

the gospel plan is quite out of his reach, and consequently does not suit his case; and it must be impossible for God to condemn a man for unbelief, for no just law condemns a man for not doing what he cannot do." ("Minutes of Assembly of 1810," p. 452 f.) Mr. Davis was deposed in 1812.

[1] Alexander's "Digest," pp. 411, 412.

[2] The membership was confined to the upper parts of South Carolina and adjacent parts of North Carolina, with York County as a center. This union brought in four ministers, one licentiate, and about eleven country and village churches.

[3] Alexander's "Digest," p. 404.

brought before the Assembly in the way prescribed by the constitution; "and resolved to recommend the Presbyteries which were opposed to the slavery agitation in the highest judicatories of the church to appoint delegates," to meet at Knoxville, Tenn., on the third Thursday in May, 1858, to organize a General Synod, under the name of "The United Synod of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America." Accordingly, at the time appointed twenty-one commissioners from twelve Presbyteries, located in four different States, met and constituted the "United Synod." A declaration of principles which was adopted contained among its articles one affirming "their agreement in, and approbation of, the Standards of the church," taken in the sense of the Adopting Act of 1729. The Synod made an overture to the Old School Assembly for reception into its fold; but that body was not disposed to receive the overture favorably. By 1863 the Old School Church of the South, however, was inclined to the union. It was no longer suspicious of doctrinal unsoundness in the New School, South. Indeed, it had long been known that the New School men of the South were never advocates of the distinctive New School doctrines, so much as admirers of New School leaders in the North, and protestants against the peculiar ecclesiastical moves of the Old School men of 1837–38.

Accordingly, in 1863 committees to jointly confer as to the basis of union were appointed, met, and with practically entire unanimity recommended a plan of union. This plan contained a *declaration* touching certain doctrines which had formerly been grounds of debate, in order to make clear the hearty and sincere agreement of the two bodies, "to restore full confidence between brethren, and to honor God's saving truth," to wit: first, concerning the *fall of man* and *original sin* including the imputation of the guilt

of Adam's sin; second, concerning *regeneration;* third, concerning the *atonement* of Jesus Christ; fourth, concerning the *believer's justification;* fifth, concerning *revivals;* sixth, concerning *voluntary societies* and the *functions of the church.*

The Assembly of 1864, after a very full consideration, expressed its belief that the approval of these propositions by the committees of conference, and extensively on both sides, "had served a valuable purpose, by presenting satisfactory evidence of such harmony and doctrinal soundness of views as might ground an honorable union"; but judged it most "prudent to unite *on the basis of the existing Standards only,* inasmuch as no actual necessity for other declarations of belief in order to a happy union" existed. The Assembly modified the plan of union further, "so as in every case to require the reception of the Presbyteries under the care of the United Synod into the Synods of this Assembly, so as to preserve the undoubted succession of the latter." It made a few other relatively unimportant changes, and then by a very large majority adopted the plan thus modified. During the August following the United Synod unanimously adopted the plan of union as amended and adopted by the General Assembly.

This union was honorable to both parties, and has been a source of great blessing to Southern Presbyterianism. It was a perfectly safe union for the Old School body. The other body was sound, and even if it had not been completely so, the seminaries for the ministry were to be in the hands of Old School men, for the whole church.[1]

In 1867 the *Presbytery of Patapsco* united with the Assembly. It lay in the State of Maryland. It was com-

[1] The ranks of the church were much strengthened by this union. "In 1861 the United Synod embraced 121 ministers, 199 churches, and had under its care 4 licentiates, 18 candidates for the ministry, and 11,581 communicants.

posed of ministers and churches which had withdrawn from connection with the Northern Presbyterian Church (O. S.) "because of the numerous and persistent violations of the constitution of the church by the highest courts" thereof.[1]

The Alabama Presbytery of the Associate Reformed Church was received about the same time, the Assembly guaranteeing its members the right to use Rouse's version of the Psalms in worship, according to their preference.

The *Synod of Kentucky* united with the Presbyterian Church, South, in 1869. In 1861 the Synod of Kentucky, belonging to the Old School Assembly, on the occasion of the withdrawal of the Southern Synods declared that it "adhered with unbroken purpose to the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America." It enjoined "upon all its members, and upon all under its control and care, to avoid all divisive and schismatical courses, to cultivate the peace of the church, and to practice great mutual forbearance."[2] It deplored the schism which had taken place in the Southern States, and condemned it as having been made on insufficient grounds. At the same time it expressed its regret "at that part of the action of the last Assembly touching the order[3] for a day of general prayer,

[1] Appearing before the Assembly of 1867, through their commissioners they affirmed that they had no good "ground of hope that the church of" their "former connection" would soon "return to the divine constitution of the church so faithfully set forth in the Standards; that they held it to be the imperative obligation of all God's people, according to the will of Christ, to manifest the invisible unity of their faith in the unity of a visible church, as far and as fast as it can be done consistently with the purity" of the *first;* that they believed "the Presbyterian Church in the United States" to be the largest body of Christians in the land whose faith and government were identical with their own and pure according to the Standards of the church.

The Presbytery was at once received by the Assembly, and attached to the Synod of Virginia as a component part of it. This Presbytery brought an accession of 6 ministers, 3 churches, 576 communicants, much wealth and intelligence. ("Minutes of 1867," pp. 131 ff.)

[2] Alexander's "Digest," p. 427.

[3] The reader has been made acquainted with this order under the caption of "The Spring Resolutions."

which was liable to be construed, and was construed, into a requisition on all the members and office-bearers of the church living in the numerous States which had seceded from the United States, and were in a state of war with them, as bound by Christian duty, and by authority of the church, to disregard the hostile governments which had been established over them, and, in defiance of the actual authority of those governments, to pray for their overthrow."[1] The Assembly in 1862, by way of review, condemned the Synod's disapproval of these acts.[2]

The Assembly of 1862 adopted a paper, too, prepared by Dr. R. J. Breckinridge, in which it declared that public order had "been wickedly superseded by rebellion, anarchy, and violence, in the whole Southern portion of the Union"; that all this had "been brought to pass in a disloyal and traitorous attempt to overthrow the National Government by military force, and to divide the nation contrary to the wishes of the immense majority of the people of the nation, and without satisfactory evidence that the majority of the people in whom the local sovereignty resided, even in the States which revolted, ever authorized any such proceeding, or ever approved the fraud and violence by which this horrible treason" had "achieved whatever success it" had "had"; that "this whole treason, rebellion, anarchy, fraud, and violence" was "utterly contrary to the dictates of natural religion and morality, and plainly condemned by the revealed will of God"; that it was "the clear and solemn duty of the National Government to preserve, at whatever cost, the national union and constitution, to crush force by force"; and that it was "the bounden duty of the people who" composed "this great nation, each one in his several place and degree, to

[1] Alexander's "Digest," p. 427.
[2] "Minutes of Northern Assembly (O. S.) of 1862," p. 631.

uphold the Federal Government, and every State government." This paper further denounced, without naming, certain office-bearers and members of churches in loyal Synods and Presbyteries as "faithless to all authority, human or divine"; and enjoined obedience to civil government, not only in overt act, but "in heart, temper, and motives (as God's law is to be obeyed), and as they shall answer at the judgment-seat."[1] All this was intensely irritating to a large majority of the Kentucky Synod.[2]

Various acts of 1864 were regarded as still more outrageous. Among these was the minute known as the "Stanley-Matthews Paper," adopting the naturalistic views of the slavery question, and declaring the political occurrences of the time to be providential revelations of the will of God that *every vestige of slavery should be effaced;* that the motive for the longer continuance of slavery had been taken away by the war of the slaveholding States in order to found an empire upon the corner-stone of slavery; expressing gratitude to God for overruling the wickedness and calamities of the rebellion to work out the deliverance of the country from the evil and guilt of slavery; and the desire for the extirpation of slavery; and recommending all in their communion "to labor earnestly and unweariedly for this glorious consummation to which human justice and Christian love combine to pledge them."[3]

[1] "Minutes of 1862," pp. 624–626. Compare letter of the Synod of Kentucky to the Southern Assembly, "Minutes of Assembly, South, of 1867," p. 181.

[2] The Assembly of 1863 gave similar offense in its elaborate minute "upon the subject of raising the United States flag over the church building in which the body sat; reaffirming the doctrine of the obligation of the church, as such, to proclaim her loyalty to the civil government." (Letter of the Synod of Kentucky to the Southern Assembly of 1867, p. 181 of the "Minutes." For the minute, see "Minutes of Northern Assembly (O. S.) of 1863," pp. 57–59.)

[3] Letter of Synod to Southern Assembly of 1867, pp. 181, 182 of "Minutes." Compare "Minutes of Assembly, North, of 1864," pp. 298, 299.

"The decisions in the cases of the Rev. Dr. McPheeters and the Pine Street Church, St. Louis, and of Rev. Mr. Farris and ruling elder Watson and the St. Charles Church, Missouri, . . . giving the full sanction of the Assembly to the persecution of Christ's ministers who could not in conscience consent to pervert their office and position to the support of a political party,"[1] was not less objectionable. The Synod of Kentucky in the following autumn, in reviewing the minutes of this Assembly, expressed its disapproval of the Assembly's deliverances on slavery, as unnecessary, unwise, and untimely. It looked upon said deliverance as a political, if not partisan, statement—one that made the Assembly seem to cast its influence with one or the other of the political parties which divided the country.[2]

The Assembly of 1865 gave still further offense in acts enforcing the principles of the foregoing acts as a part of the standing law of the church; thus: "First, condemning the Synod of Kentucky for taking exception to the Assembly's paper on slavery in 1864, and because the Synod had 'wholly failed to make any deliverance calculated to sustain and encourage our government in its efforts to suppress a wanton and wicked rebellion.'"[3] "Second, the order to the Board of Domestic Missions to appoint as missionaries 'none but those that give satisfactory evidence of their loyalty to the National Government, and that they are in cordial sympathy with the General Assembly in its testimony on doctrine, loyalty, and freedom.'"[4] "Third, the order to all the lower church

[1] Letter of Synod of Kentucky in "Minutes of Assembly, South, of 1867," p. 183. Compare "Minutes of General Assembly, North, of 1864," pp. 311, 312.

[2] Alexander's "Digest," p. 427.

[3] "Minutes of Northern Assembly of 1865," p. 54. Compare letter of Synod of Kentucky, *ut supra*.

[4] "Minutes of General Assembly, North, of 1865," pp. 554, 556, 590.

courts requiring the examination of all the ministers and church-members coming from any of the Southern States, and making it a condition precedent to admission to the church courts and churches that they confess as sinful certain opinions before held touching 'States rights,' rebellion, slavery, not in harmony with previous political utterances of the Assembly."[1] "Fourth, the minutes of the same Assembly, declaring untruly that the Southern churches had organized a General Assembly 'in order to render their aid in the attempt to establish, by means of the rebellion, a separate national existence, to conserve and perpetuate the system of slavery—a great crime against the government and against God'—and therefore declaring the Assembly's purpose to ignore the existence of any Presbyterian church in the Southern States except such churches and Presbyteries as are loyal to the government of the United States and to the Northern Presbyterian Church, and whose views are in harmony with its views on subjects of domestic slavery."[2]

During the summer of 1865 the Louisville Presbytery adopted its celebrated "Declaration and Testimony against the Erroneous and Heretical Doctrines and Practices which have Obtained and been Propagated in the Presbyterian Church in the United States during the Last Five Years" —a paper marked by splendid ability, clear, keen, revealing, unanswerable.[3] The signers testified: against the as-

Compare letter of Synod of Kentucky to General Assembly, South, of 1867, p. 182.

[1] See "Minutes of General Assembly, North, of 1865," p. 566. Compare letter of Synod of Kentucky to General Assembly, South, of 1867, p. 181 of "Minutes."

[2] "Minutes of General Assembly, North, of 1865," p. 506. Compare "Minutes of Assembly, South, of 1867," p. 182.

[3] The "Declaration and Testimony" was written by Dr. S. R. Wilson, pastor in Louisville—a man born in the North, and who had lived there until a few years before. He was never suspected of a leaning toward secession. His writing the paper in question was the result of a conference

sumption, on the part of the courts of the church, of the right to decide questions of state policy; against the doctrine that the church, as such, owes allegiance to human rulers or governments; against the sanction given by the church to the perversion of the teaching of Christ and his apostles upon the subject of the duty of Christians as citizens to render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and "to be subject to the higher powers," into authority for her courts to decide upon political questions; against the action of the Assembly of 1864 on the subject of slavery and emancipation, and against the confirmation of that act by the Assembly of 1865; against the unjust and scandalous contradictions of their own recorded testimony and the well-known fact in regard to the labors of the Presbyterian Church and ministry for the christianizing of the slaves of the South and the preaching[1] of the gospel of Christ; against the doctrine widely taught in the church, and even countenanced by the Assembly, that the acts and deliverances of the courts of Christ's commonwealth may properly be based upon and shaped in accordance with the ordinances and laws of the State legislatures, the orders and proclamations of military chieftains, and even upon the results of popular votes given at the elections; against the doctrine that the will of God and the duty of his church and of his people is to be learned from particular providential events, and that the teachings of the Scriptures are to be interpreted by these providences; against the sanction given, both directly and indirectly, to the usurpation by the secular and military powers of

between himself, Dr. J. H. Brooks, of St. Louis, Mr. Edward Bredell, of St. Louis, and Dr. J. H. Van Dyke, of New York, in the study of Dr. Van Dyke, in New York City. It came not from "hot-headed Southern prejudices," but from cool, intelligent Northern principle!

[1] During the later years of the war the Northern Assemblies denied that Presbyterians had done anything to better the negro's religious condition. They therein contradicted their previous declarations.

authority in and over the worship and government of the church; against that alliance which has been virtually formed by the church with the State; against the persecution which for five years past has been carried on with increasing malignity against those who had refused to sanction or acquiesce in these departures of the church from the foundations of truth and righteousness; against the widespread and destructive perversion of the commission of the ministry and the province of church courts, which as such could know no difference between Jew and Gentile, "Rebel" or "Yankee"; against the action of the Assembly in reference to the churches in the seceded and border States, and against the basing of the action on assertion of what the Assembly had the clearest evidence was not true, viz., on the affirmation that the General Assembly of the Confederate States was *organized* in order to render their aid in the attempt to establish, by means of the rebellion, *"a separate national existence, and conserve and perpetuate the system of slavery";* against the Assembly's making the Board of Domestic Missions a *court of final and superior jurisdiction* to judge of the orthodoxy of the ministry and the soundness of their views touching the nature of the Government of the United States, and the doctrine of States rights, the freedom of the negroes, and the various important questions touching their social and civil *status,* then and prospective; against every movement in the church which looked toward a union of the state and church, or a subordination of the one to the other, or the interference of either with the jurisdiction of the other. The paper further presented as reasons for the testimony, that the errors testified against were contrary to the Word of God and subversive of its inspiration and supreme authority; contrary to the doctrine of the Presbyterian Church as taught

in her confession, catechism, and constitution; that the errors tended to obliterate all the lines of separation between the civil and ecclesiastical powers, to bring the ministry and all the ordinances of religion and the authority of the church into public disrepute, to keep up strife and alienation between brethren of a common faith, and thus delay the pacification of the country; and that they are schismatical, teaching for doctrines the commandments of man. The protestants further declared that they would not in any way aid or abet the Assembly in its innovating measures, and would withdraw support from any men or institutions who gave themselves to carrying out said measures.[1]

At the meeting of the Synod in the fall of 1865, Dr. R. J. Breckinridge offered a paper calling in question the right of those members of the Presbytery of Louisville, and others who had indorsed and adopted the paper styled the "Declaration and Testimony," to sit and act as members of the Synod of Kentucky. The paper asserted that the signers of the "Declaration and Testimony" had assumed "such a state of open rebellion against the church, and such open contempt and defiance of her Scriptural authority, and such contempt of her faith and order and acts, as to render each and every one of them unqualified, unfit, and incompetent to sit and act as a member of that or any other court of the Presbyterian Church." But this paper was defeated by a vote of 22 to 107. Moreover, this Synod adopted an elaborate paper offered by Judge Sampson, in which it took exception to the Assembly's order to the Board of Missions to appoint as missionaries "none but those who give satisfactory evidence of their

[1] See the "Declaration and Testimony," published at the office of the "St. Louis Presbyterian," 1866, also in Grasty's "Life of McPheeters," pp. 304 ff.

loyalty to the National Government, and that they are in cordial sympathy with the General Assembly in its testimonies on doctrine, loyalty, and freedom." But in the same paper, Synod, by a vote of 57 to 35, expressed its judgment that neither this action nor any of the acts and deliverances of the Assembly or the state of the country during the war justified a withdrawal from its connection with the General Assembly; and it again asserted that it would "adhere with unbroken purpose to the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, and would oppose every effort to interrupt" its "ecclesiastical relations with the General Assembly."[1]

Acts and deliverances of the Assembly of 1866, ordaining the execution of the orders of 1865, were still more intolerable. This Assembly excluded the commissioners of the Presbytery of Louisville from their seats in the Assembly by a simple resolution, without hearing, "and on premises whose statements were utterly false, and one of them defamatory of a minister of good standing."[2] It ordered "certain persons—some of them under process before the church session, and their case under careful consideration before the Presbytery—to be recognized as elders of the Walnut Street Church, without the possibility of any knowledge on the part of the Assembly whether they had been duly elected and were lawful ruling elders or not."[3] It initiated steps for organic reunion with the New School body, "in utter disregard of the testimonies

[1] Also, by a vote of 54 to 46, it expressed its disapprobation of the terms of the "Declaration and Testimony," and of its spirit and intent, indicated on its face, as looking to the further agitation of the church, if not to its division at a time when great mutual forbearance was called for among brethren. (See Alexander's "Digest," p. 428.) This account of the Synod of Kentucky of 1865 is told here almost in Mr. Alexander's words.

[2] "Minutes of Southern Assembly of 1867," p. 182. Compare "Minutes of Assembly, North, of 1866," p. 12.

[3] "Minutes of Southern Assembly of 1867," p. 183. Compare "Minutes of General Assembly, North, of 1866," p. 54.

of 1837–38 against errors which the New School body not only had not renounced, but, on the contrary, had added to largely by its monstrous Erastian deliverances on the state of the country in 1863, 1864, and 1865, and the monstrous deliverances just then made indorsing the Civil Rights Bill and negro suffrage as against the President, and calling for more blood in the condign punishment of the chief fomenters of the rebellion." [1] It passed an act "known as the Gurley *ipso facto* order, declaring, first, the 'Declaration and Testimony' to be slanderous and schismatical,[2] then summoning its signers to the bar of the next Assembly for trial, without other citation, or other tabling of charges; devising penalties unknown to the constitution, and utterly incongruous to the Presbyterian theory of the teaching rulers—interdiction of these rulers sitting in any church court higher than the session; and declaring the *ipso facto* dissolution of Presbyteries which refused to execute this unlawful penalty," and enrolled as entitled to a seat in the body any persons designated in the Gurley order.[3] The pastoral letter and the memorials adopted by the Assembly in reference to the same general subject were equally worthy of odium.

At the meeting of the Synod of Kentucky, October, 1866, it disregarded the Gurley *ipso facto* order, and called the roll of all the constituent members and churches of the

[1] "Minutes of General Assembly, South, of 1867," p. 182. Compare "Minutes of General Assembly, North, of 1866," p. 44.

[2] "It is a remarkable fact that in a debate extending through two weeks, not even one speaker from the majority has touched the merits of the question before the house either by exposing the unsoundness of the principles contained in the 'Declaration and Testimony,' or the impropriety of the language in which these principles are embodied. We have had denunciation without measure, but not a word of argument or proof."—Dr. J. H. Brooks, in "Concise Record of Assembly of 1866."

[3] "Minutes of 1867," p. 183; "Minutes of Assembly, North, of 1866," pp. 60, 61. For a very just exhibition of "the bald confusion and incongruity of thought in the Gurley *ipso facto* resolutions, see Laws' letter to the Synod of Missouri (O. S.), pp. 6 ff.

Synod. A certain segment of the Synod, under the lead of Dr. Breckinridge, who proposed to follow the Assembly's Gurley orders, withdrew. Synod pronounced the Gurley order an overstretch of power, and said that in the declared contingent dissolution of the Presbyteries which that order effects, the Assembly had attributed to its measures and ordinances a force and operation countenanced by no provision or principle of the church. But it declared that it was not the Synod's purpose to make any change of its formal ecclesiastical relations, but to continue to stand in its present position of open protest and resistance to the enforcement of the acts of the General Assemblies of 1861–66, "concerning doctrine, loyalty, and freedom, as unconstitutional, and therefore null and void." [1]

The number of ministers who withdrew was 32. Over half of them were without charges. They took with them 28 ruling elders, representing a membership of 1800. But 108 ministers maintained connection with the constitutional Synod, representing a membership of about 9800. This Synod addressed a letter "to the churches and people under its charge in vindication of its course." [2]

The General Assembly of 1867 adopted an Encyclopædic Act known as the "Report of the Committee of Ten," wherein they crowded into one indistinguishable mass the judicial cases of near two hundred men, formally summoned to the Assembly; cases of repeal referred to this by the preceding Assembly; cases of irregularity and revolutionary proceedings in Presbyteries and Synods; cases of contested seats in the Assembly; they passed upon all these without any of the usual forms of hearing and trial, by one sweeping sentence of outlawry of two

[1] Alexander's "Digest," pp. 428, 429.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 429. Compare "Minutes of Synod of Kentucky of 1866," p. 27.

Synods—Kentucky and Missouri—and twelve Presbyteries of the church; they declared the seceders from the Kentucky Synod the true Synod, and declared the regular Synod and its Presbyteries no longer the Synod and Presbyteries of the Presbyterian Church. It also passed several acts in accord with the foregoing "for depriving the churches of Kentucky of their property and the control of the schools which their piety and liberality had founded." [1] Hence, the Synod, at a called meeting in Lexington, in June, 1867, declared that the General Assembly had ceased any longer to be a constitutional body, had become a schismatic and revolutionary body, "was no longer governed by the constitution, but controlled by the will of the majority; that the Assembly having by its own acts separated from the Synod, the Synod now makes solemn declaration of this fact upon its records, and, further, declares that it will in future govern its actions by this recognized sundering of all its relations to the Assembly, by the act of that body itself." [2]

At a subsequent meeting called for the purpose, Synod prepared a letter to the Southern Assembly, to sit at Nashville in November, 1867. The letter expressed the Synod's belief that "Southern Presbyterian churches and church courts have, in a good degree, preserved pure and unimpaired the constitutional Presbyterianism of the undivided church from 1837 to 1861," and asserted that the Synod with its Presbyteries, churches, and people, still true to the native instinct of genuine Presbyterianism, and unwilling to stand isolated from their brethren, desired still to be in communion and organic union with all who maintain the principles of church order so dear to their fathers and themselves. It further asserted that it was a

[1] "Minutes of Assembly, South, of 1867," p. 183.
[2] Alexander's "Digest," p. 429.

first duty to ascertain whether such a union could be formed, and to what extent.

As a step toward the accomplishment of this end, the letter tells how they had come to be an independent Synod; makes a statement of the doctrines and principles for which this Synod and its Presbyteries had been contending in their controversies with the General Assembly, North—setting forth their views concerning the doctrine of the Kingship of Christ, and the manner in which Christ executeth the office of a king in his visible church; concerning the origin, nature, and functions of church government as contrasted with and related to the civil government; concerning the powers of the several courts of the church, their relation to each other and to the office-bearers and people; concerning the interpretation of our Form of Government and Discipline with reference to the functions, powers, and mutual relations of the courts of the church.

The Synod expressed a desire to have its letter embodied in the historical records of the church as a record of the church's appreciation of the inestimable value of these principles as the bulwark of Christian liberty, wherewith Christ sets his people free, and a definitely expressed statute testimony, to which ready appeal "might be made thereafter" as direct authority in support of "those who stand for the truth as it is in Jesus against those who again may treacherously attempt to subvert the doctrine and order of Christ's house."[1] The Kentucky Presbyteries were warmly welcomed. Their commissioners appeared in the Assembly of 1868.

The Southern Church had again taken a large body into her bosom; but it was no alien body. It was a mar-

[1] For the entire letter see "Minutes of the General Assembly, South, of 1867," p. 784.

riage between two who saw alike substantially. The Synod of Kentucky had been an Old School body. It had been a witness for "the supremacy of Christ's crown and covenant."

In 1870 the *Associate Reformed Presbytery of Kentucky* was received into organic union with the Southern Church, on the same terms that the Associate Reformed Presbytery of Alabama had been. It brought four ministers, their elders and churches.

Union with the *Synod of Missouri* was effected in 1874. The history of this Synod between 1861 and 1867 is so like that of Kentucky that it may be dispatched in a few words. In October of 1861 it unanimously declared that the Assembly of 1861 had in the notorious Spring Resolutions taken an action that was "unscriptural, unwise, and unjust; of no binding force whatever on this Synod, nor upon the members of the Presbyterian Church within" its bounds. Nor did it feel less keenly the apostasy and usurpations of the successive Assemblies while the war lasted. Its ministers and people suffered grievously at the hands of the "loyal" brethren at the North: witness the case of the devoted and heroic McPheeters.[1] It, too, was horrified at the measures of the Pittsburg Assembly of 1865, which, at a time when "the soldiers who had stood arrayed against each other on the battlefield were meeting as friends," and when "wise men in the councils of the nation rejoiced in the hope of a speedy restoration of fraternal feeling throughout the land," passed orders at once ungenerous and unscriptural—"required all sessions, Presbyteries, and Synods of the church under its jurisdiction to examine persons, not from the North, but from the South, touching their relation to the Confederate Govern-

[1] See Grasty's "Life of McPheeters." Nothing more heroic than the life of Dr. McPheeters happened during our Civil War.

ment and their views of slavery," and compel them "to make confession of sin under pain of exclusion from the fellowship and sympathy of their brethren in the Lord," if they had voluntarily supported the Confederate Government or had certain views touching slavery.

Many Missouri ministers and elders had signed the noble "Declaration and Testimony" in the fall of 1865.[1]

The reader recalls that the St. Louis Assembly of 1866 adopted the Gurley *ipso facto* order, declaring the dissolution of such Presbyteries and Synods as should allow a signer of the "Declaration and Testimony" to take his seat as a member of the court. The Synod at its next meeting resolved, on the ground that "the Standards of the church are authoritative above the order of any church court," "that the signers of the 'Declaration and Testimony' are not slanderers, schismatics, and rebels against ecclesiastical authority, but have simply exercised a great Protestant right and discharged a solemn duty; . . . that the Synod, having no evidence that these brethren are not in good and regular standing in their respective Presbyteries and Sessions, cannot, without violating the constitution, deny them seats."[2]

Upon the adoption of these resolutions a minority of the Synod withdrew from the house. The Synod organized by the seceders has been popularly known as the Assembly's Synod. The Constitutional Synod continued to be known up to 1874 as the Old School Synod of Missouri.

The Old School Synod proposed to continue its connection with the Old School Assembly, North, but not to sink its witness for the non-secular character of the church. The Assembly of 1867 declared that the commissioners

[1] "Minutes of the Synod of Missouri (O. S.), 1869," pp. 22 *et seq.*
[2] Alexander's "Digest," pp. 431, 432.

who represented the Presbyteries in connection with the Assembly's Synod were entitled to seats, "and ordered the signers of the 'Declaration and Testimony,' and those who had acted with them, to repair to" the Presbyteries and Synod, thus recognized, "and to sign a paper disowning any intention of disrespect to the Assembly or of rebellion against its authority in all that had been done by them during the controversy." The Old School Synod of 1867 renewed its stand of 1866. It would abandon neither its right to a place in the Old School Assembly, nor its witnessing for the non-secular character of the church.[1] But it was never able to convert the mother-church to the truth.

The Presbyterian Church, North, in spite of the difference of faith, ruthlessly paid court in 1872 to our Synod; but to no purpose. The Synod resolved, 1873, to unite with the Southern Presbyterian Church. The Synod could not unite with the Northern Church without merging its witness for "*the great principle—the exclusiveness of the spiritual vocation of the church—which it had preserved intact.*"[2] It could not extinguish the lamp of its "own history by hiding under the bushel of any church stained with political corruptions." But it could unite with the Presbyterian Church, South, for that church had maintained equally with the Synod of Missouri the non-secular character of the church, and "the subordination and fidelity of the church courts, and especially of the General Assembly, to the constitution of the Presbyterian Church."[3] It had been against the unconstitutional rule of a bare majority.

In 1874 the commissioners of the six Presbyteries of the

[1] See for these quotations and for authority for the statements, "Minutes of Old School Synod of Missouri of 1869," pp. 22–26.

[2] Laws' letter to the Synod of Missouri of 1872, p. 44.

[3] Laws' letter to the Synod of Missouri (O. S.) of 1872, p. 26.

Synod of Missouri were welcomed and enrolled as members of the Assembly, South, at Columbus.[1]

Union with other Associated Reformed Presbyteries in North and South Carolina is perhaps near at hand.

3. *Fraternal Correspondence with Other Bodies.*—In 1861 the Constituting Assembly, out of its appreciation of the precious import of that memorable prayer addressed by the adorable Redeemer to the Father, in full view of the agony of the garden and of the cross—"'That they all might be one, as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us, that the world may believe that thou hast sent me'—and impelled by a sincere desire to meet the full measure of responsibility which" devolved upon it as a branch of Christ's visible church in the accomplishment of this vastly important endeavor avowed that it would earnestly try to draw closer the bonds of Christian intercourse and communion between all the churches of like faith and order in the Confederate States of America.[2] The Assembly has been true to its avowal. As a result of its endeavors it has been able to point to several unions, whose history has just been detailed.

The same Assembly, in the "Letter to all the Churches of Jesus Christ throughout the Earth," as we have seen, expressed its desire to cultivate peace and charity with all fellow-Christians throughout the world. The Assembly of 1862 affirmed its belief that the unity of God's people is a reality, and that it is of the highest importance that this unity should be manifested to the world; and declared its determination, in cases where such manifestation was not practicable, to do all consistent with truth to promote peace and charity between itself and other churches.[3]

[1] The Synod of Missouri brought 67 ministers, 141 churches, and 8000 communicants.

[2] "Minutes of 1861," p. 13.

[3] "Minutes of 1862," p. 14.

The Assembly of 1866 went so far as to appoint a committee of "chosen brethren"—Drs. Hoge, Palmer, and Girardeau—to bear the church's desire for fellowship, as far as practicable, with all true disciples of our common Lord and Saviour in all the world, "to such Christian churches and societies in the kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and, if it deemed best, on the continent of Europe also, as the providence of God might designate, and to explain to them, as opportunity might offer, the character, condition, work, and prospects of our beloved Zion; and to receive such contributions in money as might be voluntarily offered in aid of our general schemes of evangelization.[1]

In accord with the desires thus expressed, the church has, in addition to the correspondence eventuating in the cases of union of which we have related, carried on a genial correspondence with the Reformed Episcopal Church in the United States; has enjoyed similar interchanges with several European churches, notably with the impoverished but heroic Waldensian churches, for whom it has long maintained the successful Mission School of Miss Ronzone.

The Southern Church has recognized the Christian character of non-Presbyterian ecclesiastical bodies by the interchange of Christian greetings, e.g., that of the Methodist, Cumberland Presbyterian, etc. It has also recognized the Christian character of, and exchanged Christian greetings with, certain non-ecclesiastical bodies, e.g., with the Y. M. C. A.,[2] though with some scruples as to the propriety of the course. It has continued to be chary about the Evangelical Alliance. But after a little hesitation in recognizing "the principle of an irresponsible alliance," the church, under the lead of Dr. Stuart Robinson

[1] "Minutes of 1866," p. 433. [2] "Minutes of 1881," p. 394.

and others, bore an influential part in framing the constitution and insuring the success of the General Presbyterian Alliance. This great conferential council, in "seeking the welfare of the weak and persecuted churches, disseminating information concerning the kingdom of Christ, commending the Presbyterian system as Scriptural, distributing mission work," etc.,[1] has met hearty sympathy at the hands of a large part of the Southern Church.[2] The Southern Presbyterian Church is allowed about thirty delegates in the council.

In 1871 a correspondence was begun with the *General Synod of the Reformed Church in America*, popularly known as the Dutch Reformed Church. Owing to the non-secular character of this body, its thorough-going Calvinistic creed and Presbyterian polity, this correspondence, opened for "the cultivation of a mutual spirit of Christian sympathy and brotherly love," bore fruit very soon in a plan of active coöperation in several important departments of church work.[3] This plan has been fruitful

[1] "Minutes of 1877," p. 488.

[2] For the constitution of the Alliance see "Minutes of Presbyterian Church, South, 1877," p. 492; Alexander's "Digest," p. 508.

[3] In 1875 an elaborate plan of coöperation was adopted by the Assembly on the one hand and the General Synod on the other. This plan embraced features of co-working in publication, home missions, foreign missions, and education. The publishing-house of each denomination was to be "the agent and depository for the sale of the publications of the other denominations." The publication board and committee were "empowered to unite in the publication of a child's paper." It was "recommended that the members of the Reformed Church consider with great sympathy that department of the Assembly's home missionary work" which was concerned with the "evangelization of the colored population of the South," "and send their contributions to the general cause to the treasurer of the Assembly's Committee."

The plan settled the important principle that the contiguous foreign missions of the two churches ought to aim at the establishment of one united church, and decided that the principle should be carried into practice wherever such contiguity should exist, that such churches should "treat each other as though they had been planted and nurtured by one and the same denomination." It decided that young men in either church who should contemplate the work of foreign missions should upon recommendation from the board or committee of their own church be as eligible to the appointment

of much good in the foreign mission fields. The missionaries of the two churches, who are contiguous, labor together for the upbuilding of one united church. In general there is no other church with which the Southern Church has enjoyed such hearty and noble good-fellowship.

Correspondence with the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America was begun in 1870. The relations with this church up to 1870 had been by no means pleasant. The unconstitutional and Erastian measures which the Old School Assembly of 1861 enacted—the Spring Resolutions—were the forerunners of a long series of acts of usurpation and bitter hostility. The reader can guess at these from what has been brought out in connection with the histories of the Synod of Kentucky and Missouri. Passing over, therefore, all the irritating, rasping acts of intervening years, we come at once to the Pittsburg Assembly, Old School, of 1865, some of whose acts, even at the cost of slight repetition, it is necessary to place before the reader at this point.

by that of the other as by their own, and that such persons should come under the care of the board or committee appointing them, but should not be required to transfer their ecclesiastical relations to any American Presbytery or classis of the body into whose missionary service they should come. The churches were to encourage an equal acquaintance with the missions of the two churches, in order that the variety of missionary fields thus presented might give scope and stimulation to the missionary spirit of the two bodies. To this end there was to be speedy communication of matters of special interest in the missions of either board or committee to the other.

The students of either church were to be allowed to study in the seminaries of the other; and such students as chose to study in a seminary of the other church were not to suffer adverse discrimination in the appropriation of funds for their support by the board or committee of their own church.

It was provided that any provision of this scheme of coöperative union might at any time be omitted or abrogated by either body without impairing the validity of those other provisions on which they should agree. The joint publication of the paper was discontinued early. The coöperation has not been as active in home missions as might reasonably have been hoped. But there has been much earnest and hearty coöperation where circumstances have called for it along other lines. (See "Minutes of 1875," pp. 25 ff.; Alexander's "Digest," pp. 446–448.)

In response to an overture from the Presbytery of Richland, O., and certain members of the Presbytery of Madison, Ind., "asking the Assembly to drop from its roll the names of certain ministers, Presbyteries, and Synods in the so-called Confederate States," the Assembly replied:

WHEREAS, during the existence of the great rebellion which has disturbed the peace and threatened the life of the nation, a large number of Presbyteries and Synods in the Southern States, whose names are on the roll of the General Assembly as constituent parts of the body, have organized an Assembly denominated "The General Assembly of the Confederate States of America," in order to render their aid in the attempt to establish, by means of the rebellion, a separate national existence, "and conserve and perpetuate the system of slavery,"[1] therefore,

Resolved, 1. That this Assembly regards the perpetuation of negro slavery as a great crime, both against our National Government and against God; and the secession of those Presbyteries and Synods from the Presbyterian Church, under such circumstances and for such reasons, as unwarranted, schismatical, and unconstitutional. 2. That the General Assembly does not intend to abandon the territory in which these churches are found, or to compromise the rights of any of the church courts, or ministers, ruling elders, and private members belonging to them, who are loyal to the government of the United States and to the Presbyterian Church. On the contrary, this General Assembly will recognize such loyal persons as constituting the churches, Presbyteries, and Synods in all the bounds of the schism, and will use earnest endeavors to restore and revive all such church courts. 3. The Assembly hereby declares that it will recognize as the church the members of any church within the bounds of the schism who are loyal to the government of the United States of America, and whose views are in harmony with the doctrines of the Confession of Faith and with the several testimonies of the Presbyterian Church on the subject of domestic slavery. And where any three ministers who entertain the views above mentioned belong to the same Presbytery, such ministers are hereby authorized and directed to continue their organization as a Presbytery; or any two such ministers are authorized to receive any minister of the same views, regularly dismissed to them, and thus continue their organizations with the churches above described in the same bounds, in connection with this Assembly. But if a sufficient number are not found in one Presbytery, they are authorized to unite with the loyal ministers and churches of one or more adjacent Presbyteries, retaining the name of one or both such united Presbyteries as shall be deemed expedient. A similar course is also authorized with regard to Synods."[2]

[1] A misquotation. [2] "Minutes of 1865," p. 560.

In answer to an overture from the Presbytery of California inquiring what course should be pursued in admitting to their body ministers who were known to be disloyal to the government, or who might be suspected of disloyalty, the Assembly replied: that the Presbytery had a right to examine the intrant "on all subjects which seriously affect the peace, purity, and unity of the church"; that it was an imperative duty in the current "circumstances of the country, when, after the crushing by military force an atrocious rebellion against the United States for the perpetuation of slavery, many ministers who" had aided this revolt "might seek admission into Presbyteries located in the loyal States." Further, the Assembly ordered that all "Presbyteries examine every minister applying for admission from any Presbytery or ecclesiastical body in the Southern States, on the following points": first, as to whether he had in any way countenanced the rebellion; second, "as to whether he holds that the system of negro slavery in the South is a divine institution, and that it is the 'peculiar mission of the Southern Church to conserve' the institution." It ordered that a man holding these views should be required to renounce them before reception into Presbytery. It gave a similar injunction to its Synods about receiving Presbyteries. It laid the same order on sessions to regulate their reception of private members.[1]

It is no wonder that each of these sets of resolutions irritated the Southern Church. It was not true that the Presbyteries and Synods in the Southern Church organized an Assembly in order to render their aid in the attempt to establish by means of the rebellion a separate national existence and to conserve and perpetuate the existence of slavery. It was antichristian for the Northern Assembly "to set up a new test and establish a new term

[1] "Minutes of 1865," pp. 562–564.

of membership in the church and of standing in the ministry—a test authorized neither by the Word of God nor the Confession of Faith, and contrary to the uniform declaration and practice of this church from its foundation up to the year of 1861." The recognition of two or three members of a Presbytery as a Presbytery because they had been "loyal," and two or three members of a local church as the church because they had been loyal, and the investing such loyal parties with all the rights, religious and secular, belonging to the whole Presbytery or the whole church, was calculated to stir up strife and enable the "loyal" twos and threes to filch away the ecclesiastical property throughout the South. These resolutions were iniquitous. Their falsehood was clearly revealed and their iniquity nobly withstood in the Assembly by Dr. S. R. Wilson and other protestants.[1] But in answer to Dr. Wilson's protest the Assembly again charged the Southern States with sinful treason, and again misrepresented the Southern Church in relation to slavery, and reaffirmed the necessity of confession and repentance for the grievous sin of treason before the rebels could be received into the bosom of the church.[2]

The Assembly of 1866, at St. Louis, made an impression not a whit pleasanter. That was the Assembly of the notorious Gurley *ipso facto* order, which did such foul wrong to the Synods of Missouri and Kentucky. That Assembly avowedly indorsed the anti-Southern attitude of the Pittsburg Assembly as to the conditions on which an ex-rebel might be received into the bosom of the mother-church.[3] That was the Assembly, too, that wrenched the Wall Street Church property in Louisville from the

[1] "Minutes of Assembly" (O. S.), 1865, pp. 580–584.
[2] "Minutes" (O. S.), p. 586.
[3] "Minutes (O. S.) of 1866," pp. 79, 85, 114–117.

Southern members by the aid of machinery prepared by the Pittsburg Assembly. And that Assembly gave place in its minutes to the memorial of the St. Louis Convention of May 15 to 18, 1866—a paper, if possible, more unworthy of a body of Christian Presbyters than the other we have referred to.

The Assembly of 1867 maintained the ground taken in the preceding Assemblies. But if the Old School Assembly had made herself somewhat disagreeable up to 1867 to the Southern Presbyterians, much more had her sister, the New School, as the curious may see by consulting her minutes from 1861 to 1866.

In 1868 the Old School Assembly acknowledged the separate and independent existence of the Presbyterian Church, South. In 1869, on the claim of "holding the same ancient symbols of faith, the same forms of government and of worship," the Old School Assembly expressed a desire to be united with the Southern Presbyterian Church.[1] In 1870 the United Assembly[2] of the Old and the New School Presbyterians sent delegates to the Southern Assembly sitting at Louisville, to confer "in respect to opening a friendly correspondence" between the two Assemblies. This overture was based on a false assumption, viz., that mutual grievances existed in reference to which it was necessary to arbitrate. The Southern Church had never made a single act of aggression on the Northern Church. It had never attempted to wrest property from the Northern Church. It had never hesitated in receiving members on the face of their credentials. From 1861 to 1867 it had given a general consistent testimony to the non-secular character of the church, for the spirituality of the kingdom of Jesus Christ. "No ingenuity of sophistry

[1] "Minutes of 1870," p. 50.
[2] Union of the two bodies had occurred in the fall of 1869.

can transmute into political dogmas the scant allusions to the historical reality of the great struggle then pending, or the thankful recognition, in the middle of a paragraph, of the unanimity with which an invaded people rose to the defense of their hearth-stones and the graves of their sires," nor what was said about the conserving of slavery.

The Southern Assembly answered that the obstructions in the way of a cordial intercourse between the two bodies were entirely of a public nature, and involved grave and fundamental principles. It pointed to its records in proof that it had engaged in no act of hostility toward the Northern Church. It declared that it felt no enmity to that church, and that it was ready "to exercise toward the General Assembly, North, such amity as fidelity to our principles could under any circumstances permit." And it proceeded to name the difficulties which lay in the way of cordial correspondence, and which should "be distinctly met and removed," viz.: 1. Both the wings of the United Assembly, North, had fatally complicated themselves with the state in the political utterances deliberately pronounced year after year. It was their duty to purge themselves of this error "and place the crown once more on the head of Jesus Christ as King in Zion." For the Southern Church to undertake official correspondence with them as they were would be for it to blunt its testimony concerning the nature and mission of the church. 2. The union consummated between the Old and New School Assemblies, North, had been "accomplished by methods which in our judgment involve a total surrender of all the great testimonies for the fundamental doctrines of grace" made in 1838. "The United Assembly stands of necessity upon an allowed latitude of interpretation of Standards." [1]

[1] A similar fusion took place between ourselves and the United Synod; but the difference between the two cases is wide. "The Synod of the South

3. Many members of the Southern Church but a short time before had been expelled "violently and unconstitutionally" from the Old School Assembly, under charges which, if true, rendered them utterly infamous before the church and the world. Every principle of honor and faith called for the unequivocal repudiation of that interpretation of the law under which these men were expelled, as a condition precedent to any official correspondence.[1] 4. Similar charges had been preferred against the whole Southern Presbyterian Church. They could not be quietly ignored. If true, the Southern Presbyterians were not worthy of the "confidence, respect, and Christian honor and love" which were tendered in the overture. If untrue, all that was Christian and manly called for their retraction.[2] This was not resentment, but the homage which should always be paid to truth.

The Northern Church was not ready to sweep the obstacles away, and efforts to establish correspondence were discontinued till 1873. In that year the Northern Assembly declared that in accordance with a resolution unanimously adopted by the two bodies then constituting the reunited church, all action touching the brethren of the Southern Presbyterian Church and the brethren of the Old

united with us upon the first interchange of doctrinal views, upon a square acceptance of the Standards, without any metaphysical hair-splitting to find a sense in which to receive them, and without any expunging of whole chapters from the history of the past, with the sacred testimonies with which these are filled. It is not, therefore, the amalgamation of these bodies at the North which embarrasses us, but it is the method by which it is achieved." ("Minutes of 1870," p. 539—the pastoral letter explaining to the people the treatment of the Northern delegates.)

[1] This the pastoral letter further explicates, as follows: "We require as an indispensable condition to all correspondence a renunciation of that theory of church government which practically obliterates the lower church courts and destroys the appellate character of the General Assembly, under which that unrighteous decision was reached against the Synods of Kentucky and Missouri." ("Minutes of 1870," p. 540.)

[2] "Minutes of 1870," p. 450.

School Synod of Missouri had been since the reunion, and was then, null and void.[1] It expressed confidence in the Christian character of the Southern brethren, and affirmed its belief that the barriers of separation would be removed on more intimate communion. With regard to the relation of church to state, the Assembly called attention to certain statements and principles found in their Standards.[2] It appointed a committee to confer with a like committee to be appointed by the Southern Church.[3]

In response to this overture, and at the instance of two restive Presbyteries, the Southern Assembly showed, by appealing to its records, that in the true idea of the communion of the saints it had ever been willing to hold fellowship with all who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity, and especially to establish intimate relations with all bodies of the Presbyterian Church struggling to maintain the true principles of the same confession. It recalled and indorsed the position taken by the Assembly of 1870 in setting forth the barriers to union. Nevertheless, because of its desire to follow the things that make for peace, it appointed an uninstructed committee to confer with the committee of the Northern Church. It candidly asserted, however, that it did not contemplate in this move organic union.[4] A minority in the Assembly, respectable for its size and ability, was in favor of declining official correspondence until the fundamental difficulties which had been set forth in 1870 should be removed. This minority was sagacious enough to see that the overture of the Northern Assembly of 1873 afforded no sufficient reason for

[1] The resolution referred to was in these words: "That no rule or precedent which does not stand approved by both bodies shall be of any authority in the united body, except in so far as such rule or precedent may affect the rights of property founded thereon." ("Minutes of 1870," p. 516.)

[2] It made reference to Confession of Faith, chap. xxxi., sec. iv., and to Form of Government, chap. i., secs. i. and vii.

[3] "Minutes of 1874," pp. 500 ff.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 503.

appointing the committee of conference. It saw that the overture evaded "the very point it pretended to meet, assuring us that both bodies composing their Assembly unanimously adopted a resolution making 'null and void and of no binding effect all action touching their brethren adhering to the Southern Assembly,'" whereas the united body had lately adopted, and made a part of their record, a paper which indorsed in the most formal and unequivocal manner the very principles which the Southern Church has always protested against, viz., a decision of the civil court in the case of the Walnut Street Church, Louisville, Ky.[1]

Nor was the minority gifted with a constitution so contradictory as to be able to appreciate the expressions of confidence in the "soundness of doctrine and Christian character" of the Southern Church, contained in the recent overture, in the face of the abusive and slanderous charges, touching doctrine, character, and motives, so often preferred and never once openly and squarely retracted. As for the reference on the part of the Northern Church to the definition in their Standards touching the relation of church to state, it was puerile. It had held those Standards in 1861; had held them through all those years from 1861 to 1867. It was known to have formed the habit of breaking them. It gloried in having broken them, in hav-

1 "Minutes of 1874," p. 465. For the estimate which the Northern Assembly put on the decision, see its "Digest" (Moore's), pp. 250, 251, where we have these words: "In an elaborate opinion the judges have held for substance that the courts of law must accept as final and conclusive the decision of the General Assembly on subjects purely ecclesiastical, and must give full effect to these decisions in settling the property rights of litigants. The Assembly will not be slow to appreciate the value of this opinion." (Moore's "Digest," p. 251.)

Herein we see that the General Assembly, North, has solemnly and formally adopted the theory that the General Assembly is the judge of the constitutionality of its own acts. It can, if it chooses, by the voice of its bare majority deprive all lower courts of every right. It can, if it chooses, plunder, *ad infinitum*, Synods, Presbyteries, and congregations.

ing wheeled the church into the political fight. It had never gone over its records. It had made no confession of error for discrowning Jesus and putting Cæsar in his stead. For these and such reasons the minority held that to change posture toward the Northern Assembly was for the Southern Church to suppress its testimony to the truth and break the church's glorious record in the past.[1]

The committees of conference met in Baltimore in January, 1875. The Northern committee proposed that the Southern committee join with itself in recommending to the respective Assemblies the interchange of delegates, and thus their reciprocal recognition of each other as corresponding bodies. It professed its hope that such a course would speedily lead to an adjustment of matters of equal interest to both bodies, in the work of missions at home and abroad, and to coöperation in the great work of evangelization. It did not know of any reasons why fraternal relations should not be established.[2]

The Southern committee proceeded to set forth in a manly and Christian way the obstacles which had debarred the Southern Assembly from holding official intercourse with the Northern Assembly, and what was necessary for their removal. It summed up these obstructions under two heads: "*Unjust and injurious accusations preferred against the whole Southern Presbyterian Church; and the course pursued in regard to church property.*" Under the head of "*unjust and injurious accusations*" it specified "*the charge that the Southern Assembly was organized in the interest of and to subserve the ends of the Confederate Government*"; the charge "*that the Southern Assembly had changed its grounds on the subject of slavery so as*

[1] Compare "Minutes of 1874," pp. 497 ff.

[2] "Minutes of 1875," p. 82. It may be doubted whether the sons of Jacob had shown repentance if they had been as strong as Joseph when they discovered him.

to hold opinions which were heretical and blasphemous"; "*the charge of schism which is made against the Southern Church.*" [1] The committee refuted the charges by an appeal to the records, and justified its church in her past course by a reference to the acts of the Northern Church. It denied that the "Concurrent Declaration" [2] had removed the difficulties mentioned. The declaration when made was made without any reference to the Southern Assembly. If it is any sort of retraction of the slander which the Southern Church has suffered, it is not a square and open retraction. And since its passing the Assembly had persisted in a course—the Walnut Street case—"which by implication made many of the same charges over again."

Finally, the committee affirmed that the course pursued in regard to church property by the Northern Assembly was a serious obstacle. And the iniquitous methods of settling disputes about church property, upon legal technicalities, the false and ridiculous principles adopted by the Supreme Court of the United States in settling the Walnut Street Church case—that of making the judgment of an accidental majority of the highest church court of final authority in interpreting the constitution of the church—and the adoption of that decision of the Supreme Court formally by the Assembly of 1872, were animadverted upon and condemned. A proposal was made to settle the property disputes by arbitration and upon moral rights as a basis.

The Northern committee rejoined that in order to the establishment of fraternal relations, the interchange of delegates, it was not necessary that all the doings of the corresponding bodies be approved. It overlooked the fact that there were hindrances to even fraternal relations. It claimed not to be negotiating with reference to organic

[1] "Minutes of 1875," pp. 83–85. [2] See this in Note 1, p. 465.

union. It seemed to forget that organic union had from the start been the ultimate aim. It asserted that if the Northern Church had made deliverances unconstitutional and inconsistent with the proper functions of ecclesiastical assemblies, the Southern Assembly had committed the same offense.[1] It recited its Assembly's declaration to Dr. J. H. Brooks and others of the Old School Synod in Missouri in 1874, declaring everything done in the past contrary to the "Confession of Faith, Catechism, Form of Government, and Book of Discipline" to be null and void.[2] It affirmed that by "the concurrent resolutions" the charges of "heresy and blasphemy" against the Southern brethren had been declared "null and void, and therefore of no binding effect and not to be pleaded as precedent in the future"; that the charges made had been made in peculiar times, but were a part of history, and that it was idle to talk of erasing them. It recounted the several overtures for union, made in 1869, 1870, and 1873. Finally, it reaffirmed its belief that there was no sufficient cause for not establishing fraternal relations.

The Southern committee replied that there were hindrances in the way of official fraternal relations. It challenged a comparison of the records in disproof of the assertion that the Southern Church had prostituted herself to the state as the Northern Church had herself. It showed the utter insufficiency of the Concurrent Declarations to atone for the slander done the Southern Church. It desired a plain and direct expression of regret on the part of the Northern Church for these wrongs—wrongs such as

[1] For a sufficient refutation of this position, see the first section of this chapter. The mistakes of the Southern Church in this respect were transient lapses.

[2] "Minutes of 1875," pp. 90–93. This declaration to Dr. Brooks is mere farce. Who is the judge as to whether the Assembly has done anything unconstitutional? The accidental majority of an Assembly!

no other evangelical church in modern times had dared to heap on another.

The Northern committee was not disposed to ask its Assembly to make this expression of regret. It expressed the pious desire that the Southern Presbyterians might look as leniently on the sins of the Northern Assembly as the Northern Assembly would look on the proceedings of the Southern Assembly.[1]

This virtually ended the conference. The action of the Southern committee had been in all respects worthy. The Northern Church went far in her apostasy, meddling with the affairs of Cæsar. She must repent of this apostasy before she can be trusted. He who knows anything of the power of habit over a church, as over an individual, to make it tread down principle by moral inertia and under external inducements, knows that for years to come, in similar circumstances, the Northern Church would go to equal lengths again, unless she repent most deeply. She shows no repentance for what she did, she rather glories in her political measures of the war time.

The Southern Assembly of 1875 approved the action of its Baltimore committee, particularly of the statement of the issue between the churches by the committee, and its demand for a disapproval of the imputations cast upon the Southern Church by the Northern Assemblies from 1861 to 1867.

But the Assembly of 1876 at Savannah, in response to an overture from the St. Louis Presbytery, in order to remove a misapprehension existing in the "minds of some of our people as to the spirit" of the action of the Baltimore Conference, and "in order to show our disposition to remove on our part real or seeming hindrances to friendly feeling," explicitly declared that "while condemning certain acts and deliverances of the Northern General As-

[1] "Minutes of 1875," pp. 96 ff.

sembly, no acts or deliverances of the Southern General Assembly are to be construed or admitted as impugning in any way the Christian character of the Northern General Assembly, or of the historical bodies of which it is successor."[1]

Subsequently the Savannah Assembly received a telegram from the Northern Assembly, then in session at Brooklyn, reiterating its belief that "no adjustment of differences" can be "accomplished by the rehearsal of the past," and reiterating "its cordial desire to establish fraternal relations" with the Southern Assembly, "on terms of perfect equality and reciprocity as soon" as it should be "agreeable to their brethren to respond to this assurance by a similar expression."

The Southern Assembly, on receipt of this telegram, replied that it was "ready most cordially to enter on fraternal relations with the Northern body on any terms honorable to both parties."

In its reply the Southern Assembly recited also the action which it had just taken in answer to the Presbytery of St. Louis.[2] On receiving the paper from the Savannah Assembly, the Brooklyn Assembly turned parrot and chattered forth:

> The overture of this Assembly having been received by the General Assembly of the South with such a cordial expression of gratification, the committee recommended that the same resolution, declarative of the spirit in which this action is taken, be adopted by this Assembly, viz.: "In order to show our disposition to remove on our part all real or seeming hindrance to friendly feeling, the Assembly explicitly declares that, while condemning certain acts and deliverances of the Southern Assembly, no acts or deliverances of the Northern Assembly, nor of the historical bodies of which the present Assembly is the successor, are to be construed or admitted as impugning in any way the Christian character of the Southern General Assembly, or of the historical bodies of which it is the successor."[3]

[1] "Minutes of 1876," p. 242. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 243.
[3] "Minutes of 1877," pp. 412–413; Alexander's "Digest," p. 491.

The Southern Assembly of 1877, in reply to this from the Northern Assembly, resolved:

That it could not regard this communication as satisfactory, because it could discover in it no reference whatever to the first and main part of the paper adopted by the Assembly at Savannah and communicated to the Brooklyn Assembly. It further said that it could add nothing on this subject to the action of the Assembly of St. Louis adopting the basis proposed by our Committee of Conference at Baltimore, and reaffirmed by the Assembly at Savannah; that if the brethren of the Northern Church could meet them on these terms, which truth and righteousness seem to require, then they were ready to establish such relations with them during the present sessions of the Assemblies.[1]

Little more passed between the Assemblies until 1882. In that year four overtures went up to the Southern Assembly, having substantially the same object. They requested the General Assembly "to establish fully and formally what are called fraternal relations" with the Northern Assembly, "by sending delegates forthwith to that body," then in session at Springfield, Ill. In response, the Assembly adopted the following minute:

While receding from no principle, we hereby declare our regret for and withdrawal of all expressions of our Assembly which may be regarded as reflecting upon, or offensive to, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. *Resolved*, That a copy of this paper be sent by telegraph to the General Assembly now at Springfield, Ill., for their prayerful consideration, and *mutatis mutandis* for their reciprocal concurrence, as affording a basis for the exchange of delegates forthwith.[2]

In reply the Springfield Assembly telegraphed to the Atlanta Assembly that the message from the Southern Assembly had been received with warm enthusiasm; and that, in order to remove all difficulties in the way of that full and formal fraternal correspondence between the two Assemblies, which it, on its part, was prepared to accept, it had adopted the following: "While receding from no

[1] "Minutes of 1877," pp. 412, 413; Alexander's "Digest," p. 491.
[2] "Minutes of 1882," p. 530.

principle, etc."[1] That is, the Northern Assembly made its bow to the Southern with its suggested little speech of regret for whatever in its past acts might be considered as reflecting on the Southern brethren. This "Tweedle to me and I tweedle to you," tit-for-tat passage between the Assemblies has nothing massive or grand or beautiful in it. In attempting to extort this quasi-apology the Southern Assembly stultified herself. She had committed no act for which she needed apologize to the Northern Church. She seemed to apologize. At this time she lowered her banner. She merged her witness for the truth —forsaking the nobler course under the whips of some goody-goody scolds. And the great Presbyterian Church, North, wears no aspect of dignity in saying its little speech. If it believed it had done no wrong, it should have acted differently; it should not have said its suggested speech. If it was conscious of wrong, it should have made a noble apology. Its acts concerning loyalty and rebellion, its slanderous accusations against Southern brethren, were grounds for just indignation, and should have been withdrawn as St. Paul would know how to retract if he were made conscious of fault.

But the moderator of the Springfield Assembly telegraphed to the moderator of the Atlanta Assembly that in the action just taken the Northern Assembly disclaimed "any reference to the actions of preceding Assemblies concerning loyalty and rebellion," but referred "only to those concerning schism, heresy, and blasphemy."

This troubled the Southern Assembly; but on inquiry it was informed that the action mentioned in the moderator's unofficial telegram did "*not modify but explained the concurrent resolutions*" just passed, and that the explanation was on its face.[2]

[1] "Minutes of 1882," p. 541. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 552.

The Northern Church gloried too much in her political measures of 1861 and 1867 to retract them.

The Southern Assembly expressed its satisfaction, and decided to send delegates to the next Assembly North. The church was not so well satisfied. There was resiling in 1882–83.

In 1883 committees of conference on coöperation, at the suggestion of the Northern Assembly, were appointed by the Assemblies to confer "in regard to plans looking to more successful conduct of the work of the church in such regions and concerning such interests as are more or less common to the two churches." As a result of their conference the committees recommended to their Assemblies the joint occupancy of Danville Seminary, a plan of coöperation in home missions, and comity in matters of discipline such as would forbid the Northern Church throwing open its doors to those under discipline in the Southern Church, or *vice versâ*. The recommendations of the committees were rejected, save the last, relating to discipline, which the Assembly adopted.[1]

But in 1887 the Northern General Assembly was supposed, in some quarters, to have indorsed somewhat more fully the tenets of the spirituality of the church; and in response to several overtures touching organic union, the Assembly, South, appointed a committee to meet with a similar committee of the Northern Church "for the sole purpose of inquiring into and ascertaining the facts as to the point above mentioned, and as to the position that Assembly proposes to maintain as to colored churches, ecclesiastical boards, and any other subjects now regarded as obstacles in the way of united effort for the propagation of the gospel, and report these facts to the next Assembly for such action as they may warrant." [2]

[1] "Minutes of 1884," p. 19; Alexander's "Digest," p. 504.
[2] "Minutes of 1887," p. 222.

These committees met, in December, 1887, in joint conference in Louisville. The Southern committee sought information from the Northern on four subjects, viz.: 1. On the doctrine of the Northern Church as to the spirituality of the church—whether the deliverance of the last Northern Assembly is to be interpreted in the light of past political deliverances, which it apparently contravenes, or whether the Northern Church, "as now constituted, holds on this subject views different from those entertained by the two Assemblies to which that church has succeeded." 2. On the principles and policy which would be recognized as vital by the Northern Assembly in the settlement of the relation of the colored people in the South to the church, in case of union. 3. On the subject of "the powers and responsibilities of ecclesiastical boards" of the Northern Church, and the extent to which these boards are under the control of the General Assembly. 4. On the attitude of opinions within the bounds of the Northern Assembly "touching those portions of the Confession of Faith which more specifically involve the great system of truth known as Calvinistic, and particularly whether there is traceable any distinct tincture of such Pelagian and semi-Pelagian heresies as were matter for controversy in 1837."[1]

The Northern committee met again in Baltimore in January, 1888, and replied to these questions.[2]

The Southern Assembly of 1888 was "unable to discover in these replies that the obstacles to organic union" theretofore "existing between the Northern and Southern General Assemblies" had "to any considerable extent been removed." Hence, it continued "established in the conviction that the cause of truth and righteousness, as well as the peace and prosperity of our beloved Zion," would be "best promoted by remaining . . . a distinct

[1] "Minutes of 1888," pp. 458, 459.
[2] For answers, see "Minutes of 1888," pp. 460–462.

member of that one body, the church, of which the Lord Jesus Christ is the supreme and everlasting head."

This conclusion was a wise and righteous one. A few months was sufficient to show that the Northern committee, if sincere in furnishing information on the fourth subject of inquiry, was wofully mistaken. The cry of Revision of the Confession rose in such volume and with such strident and piercing tones, that the deaf had to hear and comprehend that Pelagianism was abroad. The Northern Church was seen to have many gangrened members. Her fifteen hundred ministers from extra-Presbyterian sources and her long-comatose New Schoolism showed themselves.

Though the boards of the Northern Church have indeed been so changed that they differ practically little from our committees, it would be a retrograde movement to go from our committees back to boards; our organization proclaims the sufficiency of the church for its appointed work and its unity. But the attitudes toward the negro differ essentially, and would inevitably fill the "united church" with strife. Northern Pharisees would dictate terms of intercourse between the Christians of the two races, South, which would lead to race amalgamation if followed out.

Moreover, the two churches do not stand together, as the blindest can see, on the non-secular character of the church. They cannot stand together in that witness soon. The past of the Northern Church is too potent on her present and her future. She has had a political past. She glories in it. She has traditions from the past which she loves, and they keep the spirit alive. Given a similar set of circumstances, and the Northern Church of to-morrow would do just as bad or worse than the two Assemblies, New and Old School, North, did in 1861–65. What if she makes deliverances on the spirituality of the church, and points to passages in her confession which set forth

that doctrine plainly! Besides, there is a fundamental difference in the view taken of the moral nature of the relation of slavery by the Southern Church and that taken by the New School wing of the Northern Church. This involves a wide difference in the estimate of the Bible as God's book. The Southern Church holds the biblical view, and maintains that it is right. The churches differ also on the true nature of the ruling elder's office, on the nature of Romish baptism, on the relation of woman to the public work of the church, etc. But while refusing organic union, in 1888 the Assembly appointed a Committee of Conference with a similar committee from the Northern Assembly to confer on such modes of fraternal coöperation "in Christian work, both at home and abroad, as might be considered practicable and edifying," the said committee to report to the next Assembly.

The joint committee met in New York in 1888, and in Atlanta in 1889. They reached agreement on four points, and were able to report a plan of coöperation which, with the exceptions that it contained no plank concerning coöperation in education and contained a provision for the union of weak contiguous congregations under a common pastor from either church—like the Plan of Union with the Congregationalists of 1801—was the close analogue of the plan of coöperation with the Dutch Reformed Church.[1]

Their report was adopted entire by the Assembly of 1889. The results so far have not been great. The coöperation in the foreign field is practicable. The questions which disturb and divide here are not so prominently before the missionaries and their converts. The coöpera-

[1] The plank about the evangelization of the colored people was to this effect: Each church will help the other along the lines of its own preferred method of working.

tion in the home field is possible only within narrow limits. The coöperation in the colored evangelization has not been largely illustrated. Neither church is satisfied with the position of the other. Coöperation in publication under the limits indicated above is useful.

The revision movement and the controversies with the rationalistic higher critics have blown a cold breath on the movement of the churches toward each other since 1889.

The churches between which and the Southern Presbyterian Church there subsist terms of most *intimate correspondence* to-day are the *Dutch Reformed Church* and the *Presbyterian Church, North.* Formally, the relation subsisting between the Dutch Reformed Church and the Presbyterian Church, South, is almost precisely that existing between our church and the Presbyterian Church, North. There is a difference in the cordiality. In the former case the relation sprang spontaneously from both churches. There has been no hesitancy. In the latter case the relation is half-hearted on the part of both churches.

4. Thus we have passed over the history of this church: her origin, her growth in numbers and wealth, her growth in the comprehension of the Scriptural doctrine and polity, her relation to other churches throughout the earth. It has been shown that there was good reason for her coming into being as a separate church, for her continuing to exist as a separate church till to-day. God has put high honors on her in the past, making her a witness for the non-secular character of the church, and for a Bible Calvinism, and for a Bible that makes God teach and indorse good ethics, for the government of the church according to her divine constitution, for the highest form of church organization in the Presbyterian body, perhaps. She may never merge her witness for these truths by an adulterous connection with any church that will not and cannot bear

a true witness for them, but to her eternal shame. May the God who raised up a Thornwell to lead this church in her infant days, and a McPheeters to suffer for two of her Synods and for Christians everywhere, who has given a Dabney and a Peck, an H. M. Smith and a B. M. Palmer to minister to her people hitherto, raise up spiritual sons worthy of such fathers to lead the church until another body who has the same witness to make, or can teach us a truer one, shall admit us to union with them.

No church has a right to an independent existence which has not a truth or group of truths to witness for which other churches in the country do not witness for. The church that has such a witness to make should maintain a separate existence. We believe in union, but in union with those who hold God's essential truths fully as we see them.

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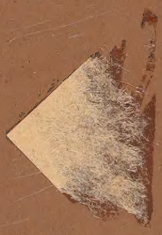

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